LIBRARY
STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
JOHNSON CITY, TENN.

THE Nation

VOLUME 147 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • NOVEMBER 19, 1938 NUMBER 21

CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 521

EDITORIALS:

THE WAR AGAINST THE JEWS 524
NO CAUSE FOR PANIC 525
THE SPANISH "SETTLEMENT" 526

WHAT THE ELECTION MEANS
by Paul Y. Anderson 527

I WAS FRANCO'S PRISONER by Samuel Romer 529

POLAND AND THE GERMAN "PEACE"
By Henry B. Kranz 533

IN THE WIND 535

ISSUES AND MEN by Oswald Garrison Villard 536

BOOKS AND THE ARTS:

HOLMES AND FRANKFURTER by Max Lerner 537
FILMS IN NAZI GERMANY by R. R. Plant 539
NOTES BY THE WAY by Margaret Marshall 540
THE SPANISH WAR by Philip Blair Rice 541
POET IN A BARREL by Babette Deutsch 542
THE REVOLUTIONARY FEVER by Franz Hoellering 543
GRANDMA GRISWOLD by Louis B. Salomon 544
SPENDING AND SAVING by Paul M. Sweezy 544
RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 546

Editor and Publisher
FREDA KIRCHWEY

Managing Editor M. R. BENDINER
Literary Editor MARGARET MARSHALL

Associate Editors
KEITH HUTCHISON
MAXWELL S. STEWART I. F. STONE

Dramatic Critic
JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

✶

Business Manager and Director of Circulation
HUGO VAN ARX

Advertising Manager
MURIEL C. GRAY

The Shape of Things

✶

WALL STREET'S JOY AT THE ELECTION results was quite undisguised. A sharp anticipatory rise on the day before the polling continued to the end of last week. Financial circles profess to believe, in the words of the *Wall Street Journal,* that "a more nearly balanced Congress has been created, one which can check those policies which paralyze business. At the same time, there is no responsible thought in either party of restoring pre-1928 conditions." This seems to indicate that the financial backers of the G. O. P. are awake to the danger of any headlong onslaught on the New Deal and will encourage the reinforced opposition in Congress to pursue instead guerrilla tactics of obstruction and delay. Meanwhile some solid support of the stock market is to be found in the industrial news. Steel output is mounting rapidly, with new orders keeping pace. As in the automobile industry, price-cutting has had a very healthy effect. There are rumors, however, that in the new year an effort will be made to raise steel prices. It is to be hoped that the industry will content itself with the wider profit margins made possible by increased volume. Recovery, handicapped by the downward trend of farm incomes and the lag of employment behind industrial output, is still precariously balanced. It could easily be upset if an attempt were made, as in the beginning of 1937, to use rising demand as an excuse to hoist prices. In this sphere our industrial leaders have a first-rate opportunity to show that statesmanlike moderation which they so constantly urge on the Administration.

✶

IN POLITICS DISTANCE ALWAYS IMPROVES the view, and it is well to weigh Mayor LaGuardia's bold call for a new third-party conference in the light of his own position, or lack of it, in the last election. Mayor LaGuardia was in an extraordinarily difficult situation, as is any man who tries to carry water on both shoulders in a strenuous political contest. Dewey had been his campaign mate in 1937. On the other hand it was clear that the defeat of Lehman would be a serious setback for the New Deal, and the Mayor has always referred to himself as a New Dealer. Both sides expected his support; neither

THE NATION, Published weekly at 20 Vesey Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter December 13, 1897, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright, 1938, by The Nation, Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

obtained it. Had the Mayor been silent, he would have been wiser than in the course he finally adopted. First he told the convention of the American Labor Party, of which he is a member, that "only a coward or a eunuch could be neutral in this election," but he failed to reveal whether he was for Lehman or Dewey. Later he challenged Lehman to declare his support for the New Deal and said he would support no one who was not a New Dealer. Lehman answered by praising the "humane purposes of the New Deal"; still silence from LaGuardia. At an election rally for an old friend, Dorothy Bellanca, who ran for Congress, LaGuardia had a heckler thrown out of the auditorium for asking whether the Mayor was for Lehman or Dewey. "No one can accuse me of being timid," the Mayor retorted; but he remained uncommitted. The nearest the Mayor ever came to a stand was on November 6 when he referred to Lehman as "a progressive Governor" in commenting on the President's address the night before. Only a eunuch or a coward, the Mayor said, could be a neutral. The question is whether a neutral can supply the leadership for a genuine third party.

*

THE PALESTINE PARTITION PLAN HAS BEEN abandoned by the British government as wholly impracticable. The decision follows on the report of the Woodhead Commission, whose thankless task it was to recommend boundaries for the proposed Arab and Jewish states and to advise on the economic and financial questions involved in partition. The report makes it clear that the commission saw no hope for the peaceful establishment of two independent states in Palestine, although in an effort to avoid a negative conclusion a majority unenthusiastically proposed a five-way split of the country into a Jewish area, an Arab area, and three separate mandated territories. The British government is to be congratulated on its rejection of this refinement of the judgment of Solomon even though this brings the Palestine problem back to where it started. Malcolm MacDonald, as responsible Minister, is now going to summon Jews and Arabs to a round-table conference. We wish him luck, but we shall not be hopeful about the outcome unless both sides agree to modify their extreme nationalism and talk economics. The most valuable feature of the Woodhead report is its emphasis on the interdependence of Jews and Arabs. If, as Dr. Judah L. Magnes has suggested, the Jews could allay Arab fears of being swamped, the small still voice of economic reason might get a chance. The alternative is British dictation of a solution based purely on considerations of imperial strategy.

*

THE BY-ELECTIONS NOW TAKING PLACE IN Britain provide a useful test of public opinion. At Oxford the Chamberlain candidate was elected, though by a much-reduced plurality, but at Dartford Mrs. Jennie Adamson won a decisive victory for Labor. The Dartford constituency is one of the largest in the country and combines a variegated industrial area with a lower-middle-class London residential district. The Labor Party has been successful there on previous occasions, but only when the political tide was flowing strongly in its favor. Though the area is extremely vulnerable to air raids, the Tory slogan, "Support the man who averted war," proved a flop, and the people showed by their votes that they were ashamed of Chamberlain's betrayals. There is reason to believe that this sentiment is growing throughout the country. Skepticism about the value of Munich is clearly visible in the correspondence columns of the political weeklies and even in *Punch*—beloved of the respectable and affluent. Even more significant are the results of the latest Gallup poll taken in England, which show that 93 per cent of the voters have no faith in Hitler's promises. This mood might develop into a sweeping movement for the revival and defense of democracy, but there is danger that it will be dissipated in cynicism. Important Labor, Liberal, and Conservative elements, as well as no-party men, are prepared to support a political combination in opposition to the Chamberlain government, but the chiefs of the Labor Party, which must form the nucleus of such a coalition, show as yet no signs of being able to rise above narrow party considerations.

*

PAUL REYNAUD'S "RECOVERY PLAN" SEEMS destined to precipitate a bitter struggle for power between the French right and left. The Reynaud program follows the general lines of all the emergency schemes which have been advanced to "save France" in recent years, with particular similarity to Poincaré's 1926 plan in its insistence upon a balanced budget. On the pretext that increased production must be achieved at all costs, the last remnants of the Popular Front's social program have been thrown overboard. The "principle" of the forty-hour week has been retained, but employees are to be required to work a full five-and-a-half-day week during the next three years. Drastic cuts are to be made in the number of civil servants, railway workers, and other government employees. The laws providing government control of wholesale and industrial prices have been repealed. M. Reynaud proposes to balance the ordinary budget partly through reduced expenditures and partly through a drastic increase in both direct and indirect taxation. The wage tax has been increased from 7.56 to 8 per cent, and bus, subway, postal, telephone, and telegraph rates are to be raised. The necessity for an increase in French industrial production is undeniable. It needs to be doubled to put France in the same position relative to Germany as it was in 1929. But how is Reynaud's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

program going to achieve this task? Instead of calling for equal sacrifices it places the whole burden on the workers, leaving those twin curses of French economy—the tax-dodger and the deserting capitalist—free to continue their sabotage.

*

JAPAN'S LATEST DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TO force the Western powers to recognize the "new situation" in the Far East have tended to boomerang. Great Britain has followed the lead of the United States in reaffirming emphatically the validity of the Nine-Power Treaty and refusing to accept any changes in its basic clauses. Britain, France, and the United States have filed vigorous protests with the Tokyo government against the closing of the Yangtze to foreign shipping while Japanese boats have free access to China's inner empire, and the protests have been rejected. A British spokesman has denied that Chamberlain's statement to the Commons on financial help for rebuilding China in the post-war period could be interpreted as meaning that British capital would be made available to enable Japan to consolidate its conquest of China. Offsetting the fact that Great Britain and the United States have made their position entirely clear in recent notes is France's action in stopping the shipment of supplies through Indo-China. If this embargo is enforced, China will be almost entirely cut off. Neither the new highway from Burma nor the newly improved caravan route across Sinkiang can compare with the Indo-China railway as a practical artery of transportation. If the Open Door is to be preserved, effective means for aiding China immediately must be found.

*

THE CAMPAIGN TO LIFT THE EMBARGO against Spain was renewed last week with the dispatch of an appeal to President Roosevelt signed by ninety-five prominent Americans. The appeal warned against a Munich settlement of the Spanish issue and urged the President to forestall such a catastrophe by restoring normal commercial relations with the government of Spain. A similar appeal was issued in connection with the shipment of twenty-six pounds of nicotinic acid, the new cure for pellagra, on the SS. Erica Reed, a gift from thirty-nine of America's leading scientists, including three former Nobel prize-winners. After pointing out that this shipment contained enough nicotinic acid to save the lives of 270,000 pellagra victims, Dr. Walter B. Cannon of Harvard University, one of the donors, stressed the fact that the treatment must be followed by an adequate diet. This will be impossible if the slow strangulation of Loyalist ports develops into an effective blockade as the result of the granting of belligerent rights to the rebels. Every American who is interested in upholding the last stronghold of democracy in Europe and in protecting Latin America against the onslaughts of fascism should wire or write the President immediately urging that this country act to save the Spanish people from starvation.

*

THE EXECUTIVES OF TEACHERS COLLEGE, Columbia University's teachers' training school, have dealt a serious blow to progressive education. In suddenly announcing the abandonment of New College, experimental unit of Teachers College, Dean William F. Russell acted with a disregard for democratic procedure almost as unfortunate as the decision itself; neither students nor faculty had any intimation that the action was pending, nor were they given a chance to offer proposals for the institution's survival. New College was launched as a laboratory for enlightened methods of teacher-training; it was designed to instil new vitality into a profession which sorely needs modernization. While the few years of the college's existence do not justify a final appraisal of its work, the question of its value was ignored in official statements from Teachers College. Instead Dean Russell explained that the college could not afford to meet the $35,000 annual deficit created by New College. He did not explain why this sum should loom so large in an institution whose annual budget approaches $4,000,000 and whose total deficit exceeds $250,000. Do the officials of Teachers College anticipate an ultimately larger endowment as the result of the closing of New College?

*

PEACE IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT IS ONE OF the most vital necessities in present-day America, not only for labor's sake but in the interest of the country's welfare. Whatever the merits of the family quarrel, the bickering, and worse, that it has given rise to has had a demoralizing effect on ordinary voters who are not acquainted with its fine points; if continued, it will open the way to even more decisive attacks from the right than those which found their mark in the recent elections. The pressure for peace is obviously being felt at the C. I. O. constitutional convention now going on in Pittsburgh. President Roosevelt's message, and its enthusiastic reception by the delegates, must accentuate the pressure. The question is whether the setting up of the C. I. O. as a permanent organization can be consistent with labor peace. It seems doubtful that it can lead to peace in the sense of reamalgamation with the A. F. of L.; it may be in part designed, however, to increase the bargaining power of the C. I. O. in the negotiation of a labor truce. In that case the most destructive battles of the jurisdictional war might be eliminated. It is less clear what compromise could be made on the important issue of the National Labor Relations Board, which operates on the front line of the main battle between capital and labor and yet is constantly bedeviled by the A. F. of L.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

War Against the Jews

THE anniversary of the Armistice was celebrated in Germany with a characteristic demonstration of the Nazi spirit. In every city and town Nazi youths in party cars, animated by what Propaganda Minister Goebbels described as "healthy instincts," smashed and plundered Jewish shops, burned synagogues, beat and arrested thousands of helpless Jews while police and firemen looked on with smiling approval. It was a great show. Never were mass cowardice, mass brutality, and mass destructiveness so gruesomely displayed. The demonstration was finally called off when the ruin was complete and the mob presumably sated. Then the official sequel was announced. Field Marshal Hermann Göring, director of Germany's Four-Year Plan, issued a decree forbidding Jews after January 1 to conduct any retail, mail-order, commission, or handicraft business. At the same time he leved a fine of 1,000,000,000 marks—some $400,000,000; and Herr Goebbels published an order prohibiting Jews from entering movie houses, theaters, or concert halls. Thus has the Third Reich, most powerful nation on the Continent of Europe, avenged the death of a German official at the hand of a seventeen-year-old Jewish boy, hysterical with grief because his parents, driven out of Germany with thousands of other Jews, were stranded without money or shelter on the Polish frontier.

What answer can we make to this degenerate brutality? We can and must protest; refusing to be silenced even by the bestial Nazi threat to visit still more vengeance on the Jews for protests coming from abroad. We can protest, but we know that indignation will not influence a government which has abandoned even the outward forms of justice. The perverse mentality that can hold a racial group responsible for the act of one individual is beyond the reach of ordinary remonstrance. The torture of Germany's Jews seemed to have reached its climax when the Nürnberg laws were adopted; many people believed that their position would remain static thereafter, fixed by detailed restrictions; a sorry enough fate, but perhaps bearable. Nothing like that has happened. New decrees have multiplied, narrowing more and more the civil rights and means of self-support permitted to Jews. And now the last possibility of earning a living has been snatched away by the new decrees.

Newspapers and the public men in every country have expressed their horror at the whole performance. They have denounced the Nazi sadists for their atrocities and for the even more perverse cruelty of forcing the victims to pay for the repair of their damaged property. They have pointed out the discrepancy between the Nazis' boast of discipline and order in the Reich and their claim that the riot of destruction was a "spontaneous" outburst. Few of them have emphasized the most significant fact about the new pogroms—that they are direct consequences of the Munich triumph which completed the rout of all the sober elements around Hitler and established the power of the extremists.

The recall of our ambassador for "report and consultation" is an effective and courageous move. It is hinted, as this issue goes to press, that it may be followed by more drastic action. It is known that Mr. Roosevelt and his advisers have been considering the possible effects of a complete diplomatic break with the Reich. We hope most earnestly that this action will be taken. It may be without precedent, but the situation demands unprecedented steps. A rupture of relations would at least bring to the Nazi government some realization of the horror with which its new orgy of *Schrecklichkeit* is regarded.

Such an act would yield many secondary benefits. The United States would at a stroke be rid of Nazi agents concealed in the habiliments and titles of diplomats. And no American representatives would thereafter be subjected to the humiliation of listening to endless attacks on democratic institutions and the solemn nonsense of Nazi party ceremonials. Trade with the Reich is meager at best and could be ended altogether with small hurt to the United States. The primitive rules under which Germany does business preclude satisfactory relations in any case, and make a trade pact unthinkable. Meanwhile, the people of this country can make their indignation felt by intensifying the boycott; a general refusal to buy German goods would prove more effective than all the words of protest that could be spoken.

Some solid good has come out of the orgy of terror: whatever illusions still lingered around the concept of "appeasement" have vanished into the murk of Nazi obscurantism. The official picture of Hitler presented at the time of the Munich pact—comfortably sated, eager for the good-will of his neighbors—has faded into the old familiar outlines. The savior (at a price) of Europe's peace has become again the Nazi street-fighter and Jew-baiter. No official notice of the pogroms has been taken in London or Paris, but the word is going out that further negotiations with Hitler will be indefinitely delayed. The present temper of the French and British people is not suited to good-will tours to Germany. On the other hand Chamberlain is taking pains to avoid ruffling the feelings of his cosigner of the pact of "everlasting peace." He plans to use the unhappy interlude to solidify his relations with Italy, but even this threat is not sufficient to dim our satisfaction at the rough awakening of the British public. Just as the attacks upon the Jews were a direct result of Munich, so the truth about Munich may emerge from the sufferings of the Jews.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Another silver lining is just beginning to show itself. Goebbels has warned Jews everywhere to keep their mouths shut about the Nazi terror lest they provide a blueprint of action for the anti-Semitism that lurks just under the surface in all countries. The existence of anti-Semitism is not to be denied. It is a part of the daily experience of Americans, as well as Germans. It emerged in more than one state during the recent election campaign, threatening the basic decencies of democratic life. But Goebbels's theory that the German pogroms will encourage the growth of anti-Jewish feeling is a false one, typically Nazi in its arrogant conceit. No news in recent years has so effectively awakened the ordinary man-in-the-street to the ultimate meaning of anti-Semitism as the story of the persecutions in the Reich; and no words have provided a more salutary shock than those of the Propaganda Minister himself.

No Cause for Panic

THE elections were a defeat for Mr. Roosevelt, but hardly a rout. The Democratic Party could not reasonably hope to maintain its landslide strength of 1936. The Republicans will have 23 seats in the new Senate and at least 166 in the new House, but the Democrats retain the control of Congress which they won in 1930. State victories place new patronage in G. O. P. hands, strengthening the party for 1940, but the totals are not impressive. The Republicans will now govern 18 of the 48 states, instead of 7. In terms of the Electoral College, the 1936 vote of 523 to 8 is now 321 to 210 in the Democrats' favor. Nor is comparison with the past discouraging. Since 1870, with the one exception of 1934, the party in control of the House has always lost seats at the mid-term elections. Since 1870, too, the party which won or kept control of the House in the mid-term elections has won the Presidential election which followed. If 1940 runs true to this seventy-year-old pattern, it will see a Democratic victory. Although a Democratic majority in Congress is not synonymous with a liberal majority, those busily hanging crepe on the New Deal are a little premature.

Labor and liberalism suffered the gravest defeats in Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Pennsylvania. Democratic reverses in Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Oregon made little change in the New Deal forces, for in those states, with one exception, the choice was between equally conservative major-party candidates. In Connecticut, Senator Lonergan, a reactionary Democrat, was defeated by Danaher, a Republican liberal and labor lawyer. The money of the anti-union motors industry and its exploitation of the issue of the sitdown strike among farmers and the middle classes defeated Governor Murphy in Michigan. The division between Progressive and New Dealer in Wisconsin, a division for which Phil La Follette and Farley share the blame, handed that state to the reactionaries. The still unhealed scars of primary fights in Minnesota's Farmer-Labor Party and among Pennsylvania's raw Democrats were at least partly responsible for similar setbacks. Minnesota indulged in a vicious anti-Semitic campaign, and Pennsylvania elected Hoover Republicans. Most menacing was the appearance on the ballot in California, Washington, and Oregon of anti-strike constitutional amendments that can be described as semi-fascist. Oregon voters approved theirs by a narrow margin, and their decision may stimulate similar measures elsewhere unless a concerted campaign by labor forces it into the discard through court action. It is a pleasure to record the fact that the Catholic bishops of Spokane and Seattle helped to defeat the amendment in Washington by a joint statement against it.

Politicians have always tried to exploit a certain amount of racial and religious feeling in New York. The Republican Party sought to defeat Roosevelt for the governorship in 1928 and Wagner for the senatorship in 1932 by nominating Jewish candidates. This time "Vote American" signs made their appearance against Lehman, and Poletti's Protestantism was emphasized in an effort to turn Catholics against him. But Dewey's attack on the racial issue did him credit, and neither anti-Semites nor anti-Baptists seem to have played an important role. Lehman's vote, though almost 600,000 less than in the Presidential year of 1936 (Dewey's vote was also less than that polled by the Republican candidate in 1936), was almost 200,000 more than he received in 1934. The reelection of Lehman and Wagner in New York, the sweeping Democratic victory in Illinois, and the defeat of particularly obnoxious Republican candidates in California by Olson and Downey are among the brightest spots in the election picture. The defeat of Hague's candidate in New Jersey, of Curley in Massachusetts, and of Davey in Ohio demonstrates that liberals will refuse to support reactionary and corrupt machine Democrats even when they parade the approval of the New Deal High Command. O'Connor's failure is also cause for satisfaction, while Marcantonio's return to Congress will be some compensation for the loss of O'Connell in Montana.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the campaign was the extent to which the Republicans were compelled to adopt the language of liberalism. Though the insistence of most G. O. P. candidates that they were opposed to the methods rather than the aims of the New Deal was safely ambiguous and not to be relied on too heavily, it testified nevertheless to the change brought about by Mr. Roosevelt in the American philosophy of government. Certainly in the farm belt Republican victories must be regarded as a mandate for more rather than less government aid to agriculture. The dangers to the New

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Deal program lie not in frontal attack by its enemies but in stealthy ambush. The fight will be to starve new administrative and regulatory agencies by cutting their appropriations, to weaken them by changing the character of their personnel, to whittle away their powers in the courts. We are convinced that the fight to amend the Wagner Act will be the major engagement between New Deal and anti-New Deal at the next session of Congress, and there are too many conservatives among the Democrats to make us sanguine about the outcome. The Administration is likely to seek to meet the crisis by compromise, and the C. I. O. and A. F. of L. must join forces for the coming struggle or risk a serious setback to the entire labor movement.

Spanish "Settlement"

SPANIARDS go on fighting as if civil war were still raging, and the Ebro's waters run red. Deluded journalists who thought the roar of cannon and the rattle of machine-guns meant continued warfare, must have blushed with shame on learning that Chamberlain and Mussolini had scooped the world by ascertaining "exclusively" that a settlement had been reached in Spain. This must be the meaning of the British and Italian governments' decision that the pact they concluded on April 16, containing the provision that it would become operative as soon as Spanish affairs were "settled," can now be enforced.

With the Anglo-Italian agreement numerous new arrangements come into play. They include an Italian promise to keep hands off British spheres in southern Arabia, a pledge by each government to tell the other before erecting new naval or air bases in the eastern Mediterranean or Red Sea, an Italian assurance that Lake Tsana's waters will not be diverted from the rich cotton fields of Sudan and Lower Egypt (important to Lancashire's textile plants), British reaffirmation that the Suez Canal will stay open to the ships of all powers in peace and war, suspension of mutually hostile wireless propaganda, and virtual withdrawal of British missionaries from Abyssinia and their replacement by Italians. Britain's unhappy leadership of the League's first and probably last romp in economic sanctions in 1935 will end in British recognition of Italy's whole Ethiopian conquest. Italy says it will sign the 1936 London naval treaty, limiting the size of warships and gun calibers but leaving the number of each country's war craft unrestricted—a document robbed of importance and durability by Japan's refusal to adhere to it. Of minor importance also is Italy's diminution of the Libyan garrison, which can be reinforced in three days.

Ordinary folk supposed the Spanish "settlement" upon which enforcement of the Anglo-Italian accord was made dependent meant that as a start all foreign aid should be withdrawn and the Spaniards left to settle their own affairs; Berlin and Rome should cease to use Spain as the fulcrum of their European strategy. But only Republican Spain has dispensed with all foreign volunteers, totaling roughly 10,000 men. Italy has withdrawn 10,000 infantrymen from Franco, Mussolini having confided to Chamberlain in Munich that this number represented half of all the Italian troops in Spain. The Duce has ignored the published admission of his own controlled press that Italy had 40,000 troops in Spain. (Neutrals consider 60,000 a minimum estimate; Barcelona charges 80,000.) It has passed virtually unnoticed that the "settlement" ignores German cooperation with Italy in Spain, though some persons believe that Germany's grip on Nationalist Spain, in the long view, is a graver menace than Italy's. Apparently in Chamberlain's opinion the settlement can also ignore the remaining Italian infantrymen, technicians, and airmen, Italian control of Majorca, and Italian bombing of British vessels, as well as Germany's military and economic domination of the Basque country and other regions.

Ever since April, though hard-pressed by parliamentary questioners, Chamberlain had evaded the clear definitions of a settlement. But he had intimated that he would not regard as satisfactory a settlement involving renunciation of Britain's stake in an independent Spain, free from any power's dictation. Even this measure of enlightened self-interest was discarded when he accepted as a settlement a condition allowing Mussolini and Hitler to continue their efforts to make all Spain their fascist vassal. Such a Spain can render Gibraltar worthless, threaten British Empire communications, and paralyze France. In a parliamentary debate on Spain on July 26 Chamberlain declared, "In seeking peace the British government is not willing to sacrifice, even for peace, British honor and British vital interests." So presumably the settlement in Spain, which Chamberlain professes to have discovered, is reassuring to both British interests and British honor, as was the settlement at Munich.

Britain is publicly committed to withhold belligerent rights from insurgent Spain until the Non-Intervention Commission's scheme for total withdrawal has been carried out. But Chamberlain's pursuit of appeasement may override mere commitments. And in practice Britain has been conceding the privileges of a belligerent to Franco by tolerating his continued attacks on British ships outside Spanish waters.

Horror of social democracy in Spain is so intense among the British ruling class that Chamberlain was able to win approval for the Anglo-Italian pact from Parliament—345 docile members, against 138, with eyes open swallowed the settlement-in-Spain hoax. But every day more Britons realize that what is really being settled is Britain's hash.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What the Election Means

BY PAUL Y. ANDERSON

Washington, November 14

SOME juicy morsels of comfort were tucked among the election returns, but it would be folly to deny that the net result was a sound shellacking for liberalism and labor. Surgical analysis will disclose that the New Deal was hit harder than the Democratic Party as a whole, that labor's wounds are deeper than the Administration's, and that the C. I. O. suffered the most grievous trauma of all. Before turning to compensations let us count the casualties.

In Frank Murphy, Phil La Follette, and Elmer Benson the nation lost three of its ablest and most progressive governors. The loss may be temporary, but it occurs at a critical time. There would be few to lament the repudiation of the Earle administration in Pennsylvania if it were not being supplanted by an outfit highly reminiscent of the Ohio Gang. Try to imagine an administration which owes its victory to Joe Grundy, Ernie Weir, John Pew, and Moe Annenberg! Pennsylvanians don't need to imagine it; they are going to live under it for four years—those who can stand it that long. The miners and steel workers know what to expect, and the early pronouncements of Governor-elect Arthur James show how well founded their apprehensions are. C. I. O. members in Ohio are consoled by the knowledge that the Republican Governor-elect, John Bricker, will hardly aspire to surpass the brutal and lawless record of his predecessor, the unspeakable Martin Davey, but a ticket elected with the help of Tom Girdler and the rubber barons will not strain itself to pamper labor. In Michigan the automobile workers spent their last ounce of energy in a gallant struggle to hold the State House for Murphy, but the National Association of Manufacturers, the Black Legion, and the farmers made too strong a combination. The C. I. O. can expect no quarter from Frank Fitzgerald. It is a grim outlook, yet there is a distinct possibility in all three states (in Pennsylvania it is almost a certainty) that the excesses of the victors will produce a revulsion in public sentiment. Unfortunately, that will neither revive the dead nor heal the living.

One of the most shocking results was the adoption by Oregon voters of a measure which virtually prohibits strikes, picketing, and all other forms of union activity except the purely social. This draconian monstrosity was fully described by Richard Neuberger in *The Nation* of October 29. It is sufficient here to say that unless the courts overturn it—which seems rather likely—unions will cease to exist in Oregon except as ghosts. Similar but less vicious proposals were rejected in California and Washington. The presence of these medieval measures on the ballot was largely the work of such vigilante elements as the Associated Farmers, but organized labor must share the blame. Public sentiment on the coast was embittered by the disruptive and costly battle between the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. For this condition Dave Beck and his red-handed "goon squads" were mainly responsible, and a leader with the skill and tact of Phil Murray or Sidney Hillman would have quickly made use of the opportunity to turn public sympathy to the C. I. O. The inflammatory utterances of Harry Bridges succeeded only in evoking the curse, "A plague on both your houses!"

In many states, but particularly in the Middle West, farmers voted for Republican candidates in protest against crop prices and the Administration's crop-control plan. Do they hope for relief from an Administration headed by Vandenberg or Taft, and based on the support of Grundy, Girdler, and the National Association of Manufacturers? Or have the farmers simply ceased to hope, and settled down to steady hating? Their present mood is significant as portending the death of Henry Wallace's Presidential aspirations.

On the cheerful side of the ledger New York is the brightest spot. It radiates not only with the reelection of Wagner and the election of Mead to the Senate, but acquires added luster from the fact that Governor Lehman ran far behind them. The Governor must know that he owes his election to Mayor LaGuardia and the American Labor Party. Whether he is grateful remains to be seen. John Lord O'Brian chose to make the issue with Wagner squarely on the Labor Relations Act. In drawing a moral from the outcome I am content to echo that masterpiece of understatement by David Lawrence, the columnist for big business. He wrote: "Senator Wagner's signal victory cannot be interpreted as dislike for the basic purposes of the act he sponsored." Retribution finally overtook John J. O'Connor. I hope someone will take the trouble to notice what he does next. As chairman of the House Rules Committee—that reeking abattoir through which many a liberal measure was ushered to an open grave—O'Connor served certain interests faithfully and well. I shall be curious to know whether they remember it.

By electing Culbert Olson as Governor, California announced its decision that twenty-two years was long enough to keep Tom Mooney in prison for a crime he

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

didn't commit, and thereby redeemed itself to the extent which the foregoing words would indicate. However, its penitence must be genuine, because it also snowed under the candidates and proposals of the Associated Farmers and other fascist groups in the state. This should temper the rejoicing of Representative Dies over the results in Michigan and Minnesota, and prove to everyone else that his committee's bogus "exposures" failed to affect the results anywhere. (At this moment, incidentally, a warrant is being sought charging one of Dies's star witnesses with perjury.) California's new Senator, Sheridan Downey, is infinitely preferable to the vigilante candidate who opposed him, but he is not unduly circumspect about the methods by which he seeks office. First it was the Townsend plan, then "Thirty Dollars Every Thursday." However, we must take into consideration that he was running in California.

Some of Tuesday's defeats were quite as gratifying as its victories. I never thought I should live to rejoice over the return of Warren Barbour to the Senate, but any man who administers a thrashing to Frank Hague has earned the thanks of every American who believes in democratic processes and official decency. Barbour would be a hero to the end of his life if he never opened his mouth or cast a vote in the Senate. Indeed, his record indicates that he would be a greater hero on those terms than otherwise. The defeat of Hague and his New Jersey hoodlums, coupled with the repudiation of Governors Earle of Pennsylvania, Davey of Ohio, and Kraschel of Iowa, may prove to be the most salutary result of the recent campaign. It does much to vindicate the petition of New Dealers who have sought earnestly, and not always successfully, to persuade Roosevelt that the local Democratic machines which have flourished under his Administration are liabilities, and that the work of spreading the gospel is not a proper mission for gorillas. If he accepts the evidence of the election, and proceeds hereafter on the assumption that his real strength lies in his liberal policies, the next two years may yet produce that political realignment which is the indispensable prerequisite of intelligent voting and responsible government. The series of conferences with progressive leaders which has now been initiated by Mayor LaGuardia will have a tendency to edge the President still farther along the path he should have chosen boldly long ago. The Little Flower, incidentally, has made himself the most powerful force in this country for uncompromising liberalism. I never doubted that he would.

Just how the election results will be reflected in the temper of Congress is uncertain. Those who say the New Deal will be put in a strait-jacket by a coalition of Republicans and Garner Democrats, and those who declare that the Democrats, confronted with the specter of defeat in 1940, will hasten to submerge their differences, are engaged alike in wishful thinking. It is too early to know, and I see no point in guessing. However, it is no guess that the Presidential prospects of Senator Clark of Missouri have been vastly enhanced. This favorite of Garner and other Old Guard Democrats was reelected by a landslide, and his "availability" becomes more obvious by the hour. Let me urge liberals not to judge Senator Clark too hastily by his supporters. Some of us have felt that the TVA and the Labor Relations Act constitute the simplest test of progressivism. Clark voted for both. I have known him long and well. No flaming liberal, he is nevertheless intelligent, honest, humane, and belligerently independent of corporate influence. Doubters should consult the du Ponts, who had to face him during the munitions investigation. He knows how wars are made and who profits from them. Most important of all perhaps is his immovable faith in democratic institutions.

To those who scoff at the suggestion that those institutions may be seriously assailed in this country, I recommend a careful study of the recent utterances of Major General George Van Horn Mosely, retired commander of the Third Army Corps area. Upon his retirement six weeks ago the General unburdened himself of a blast which might have been translated literally from the German of General Göring. The dominant theme was that the army had become the only stable force in the United States, which was interpreted by many as a threat that the army might find it necessary to "take over." Last week in a speech at Cincinnati this same brass-hatted pensioner appealed to the country to unite in 1940 under a coalition government, comprising "the cream of the parties." From all his utterances it is perfectly plain that when the General speaks of the "cream" he is alluding to an element which some of us prefer to describe as the scum. In all this I find a classic fitness, for it was General George Van Horn Mosely who commanded the troops which gassed the unarmed and destitute veterans and their women and children from their miserable shelters in this city in 1932. I can still see him directing that gallant charge. For his recent Prussian bombast he has been reprimanded by the Secretary of War, but it might be edifying to know in how many beribboned breasts his words found an echo.

One encounters a deepening belief in high official circles here that the Munich betrayal was actually arranged far in advance of its public announcement, and that the September war scare was deliberately staged in England and France to frighten the people of those countries into acceptance of terms which had already been secretly agreed on. That hypothesis would serve to clarify many things which have puzzled the world. The failure of the Germans to dig trenches in streets and parks, to issue gas-masks by the millions, to plan the mass evacuation of their cities, or engage in any of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

spectacular preparations which terrified London and Paris is understandable if Hitler knew there was to be no war. Unlike Chamberlain and Daladier, he was under no compulsion to create a public opinion. That the danger of gas attacks on London and Paris was enormously exaggerated by the government is now admitted. Gas has not been employed against civilians in Spain or China, for the very practical reason—upon which experts agree—that gas is much less effective than explosives or incendiary bombs. That the heads of the British and French governments would perpetrate such a monstrous hoax upon their peoples is a horrifying thought, but is it any less horrifying than the final betrayal? I think not, and there are others here, far more important, who agree.

I Was Franco's Prisoner

BY SAMUEL ROMER

[*The author of this article served as a private in the Mackenzie-Papineau battalion of the International Brigade from May 4, 1937, until he was captured at Hijar on March 12, 1938; he was released early in October, 1938, in exchange for an Italian aviator, after being in prison for about seven months.*]

"WHY did you come to Spain? To kill me, perhaps?" The question was put by a Fascist machine-gun sergeant. It was a somewhat difficult one to answer. I stammered a bit, but did my best in broken Spanish to satisfy him that I had no personal hatred for him at all, even hinted that I could learn to love everybody. No success. He still persisted in his embarrassing question. Finally I resorted to the classic answer—an answer I was to find increasingly useful as my enforced stay in Fascist Spain continued through long months—"No intiendo" (I don't understand"). It worked. He was angry and stubborn, but I proved quite as adamant. "No intiendo!" After a while he gave up in disgust. It wasn't until after he had walked away that, for the first time since I had been captured two days before, I felt comfortable.

I had expected to be shot, but now I really felt that I had a chance. Actually, I hadn't cared very much whether I lived or died during the first twenty-four hours after I was captured—I was so tired. Where we had been expecting a weak feint, Franco had attacked with 120,000 Italian troops and more than 60,000 Spanish Fascists. Forced to run when its flanks gave way, the Mackenzie-Papineau Canadian Battalion to which I was attached had been on the march for more than eighty hours, with only brief halts. We were all dog-tired when the word came that the enemy had broken through the front six kilometers away and was advancing rapidly. The battalion took to the road in a hurry and began marching again. I was assigned the job of bringing up the rear, making certain no stragglers were left behind. But we hadn't been on the road more than ten minutes when the Fascist cavalry came over the hills shouting "Viva Franco!" as they waved their long sabers and shot their carbines. Four of us at the rear of the marching unit were cut off and surrounded. A hand grenade I tossed at an approaching horseman could not save me; although it eliminated both him and his horse, it did not stop four more troopers behind him. Because there was nothing else to do I wearily raised by hands in obedience to their command.

The platoon that captured me was made up of decent fellows; I suppose if they hadn't been so decent I shouldn't be writing this story. For some inexplicable reason they did not even attempt to take revenge for their dead comrade. Talking with one of them, I discovered that we had fought against each other in an earlier action at Fuentes de Ebro. Promptly we began to fight the battle all over again, disputing how many tanks had been lost, the efficacy of the Fascist machine-gun cross-fire, and so on. He found the recollection pleasant since it had been a pretty disastrous action for us. A Fascist soldier discovered a red Socorro Rojo Internacional (International Red Aid) booklet sticking out of the coat pocket of one of the prisoners. He quietly removed the book and buried it in a hole he dug with his heel. I noted many occurrences of this sort. One soldier tore a sergeant's stripes off a prisoner, telling him it would be very bad if the commanding officer noticed it. Another suggested to a prisoner that he remove the hammer-and-sickle ring he was wearing. The clerk-interpreter who took our prison declarations asked in a long-drawn breath: "Areyouamemberofapolitical partyortradeunionyoumustdenyeverything!"

Some 700 government troops, including 80 internationals, were captured in that week's fighting. At Bilbao I took part in the most exciting demonstration of genuine labor solidarity I have ever seen. The military governor there decided to make the prisoners the feature of a victory parade staged to show the recalcitrant Basques who was really winning the war. We waited for eight hours in the freight yards while preparations were made; then, under heavy armed guard, we began the parade across the city to the concentration camp. The sidewalks were filled with throngs who had come out to see the proof of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Franco's victory. But as we marched along we did not hear a cheer, and the silence was pregnant with hatred of the proud victors. The faces of the onlookers expressed only sympathy, solidarity, with us. All along the route men and women seemingly scratched their heads, and as their fingers brushed their hair, their fists suddenly clenched and unclenched. In the heart of Fascist Spain we were being saluted with the clenched fist of the republic.

We were to discover later that our experience on parade in Bilbao was normal in the north; wherever we went we found tremendous love for the republic. Basque or Asturiano, the people hate Franco and will gladly risk death again to see him overthrown. I am convinced that as soon as the republic shows any sign of real military power, the moment it can carry out a smashing offensive that will not only take but hold Fascist territory, a revolution will break out in the north. They are waiting for the signal there; the underground movement works with the smoothness that comes of long years of apprenticeship under the decadent monarchy and Primo de Rivera's dictatorship. Franco keeps 60,000 northern soldiers in Fascist jails, not daring to trust them even in guarded labor battalions. Six columns totaling 10,000 men are still fighting in the hills of Asturias, conducting successful guerrilla warfare. Machine-guns and ammunition are cached in the hills, much of it stored there after the failure of the 1934 rebellion. Hundreds of Basque priests are held incomunicado in the jails because they refused to accept Vatican dictation about "the holy war against communism."

Within Fascist Spain one finds none of the enthusiasm for the war and the willingness to endure the sacrifices it demands so evident on the Loyalist side. Nearly everybody is tired of the war and prays for a quick end. Some of the soldiers, of course, are *Rojos* (Republicans) caught in Fascist territory in the first days of July, 1936, and later drafted into the army. But most of the recruits are politically indifferent; they merely obey the law and fight without fervor, wondering mildly what it's all about. These men are representative of the civilian population in their indifference; if they dread death on the battlefield, it would be even worse to disobey the draft laws. Although most of them are deeply religious, they have a surprising skepticism about the formal church and its priests.

Resentment is directed against Burgos and Salamanca rather than against Berlin and Rome, against the homegrown variety of dictator rather than the imported. Italian soldiers are present wherever one turns, and the German Gestapo openly runs the country; yet we found little anger at the invasion. Of the oft-reported feud between the Carlists and Falangists we saw practically nothing; although here it must be remembered that the mass base of the Carlists was formed by the Basques, now loyal to the republic. There were of course minor incidents—the knifing of a Spaniard by a Moor, the ruthlessness with which German sergeants ordered about Spanish majors. But it seems to me that the real push for republican victory from within Fascist Spain will come almost exclusively from the north and from the old Marxist and Anarchist elements in the cities, and that any uprising will be directed against Franco and his Spanish colleagues rather than against the invaders. The big shot in Fascist Spain is not Franco, I believe, but Serrano Suñer, the Minister of the Interior, of whom even the ordinary civilian speaks with frightened awe. Suñer recently visited Spanish Morocco, whence Franco receives so much political strength, and was given homage by the native governors.

After a month at Bilbao we were transferred to the concentration camp at San Pedro de Cárdenas, about seven miles from Burgos. This camp had been made the center for all non-Spaniards captured since the beginning of the war. Among the 700-odd prisoners were men captured in every important battle during the Italian drive to the sea. Some 500 of us had been soldiers of the International Brigades; the others were *extranjeros del Norte*, foreigners of the north. These were all men who had lived in Spain from five to twenty years before the civil war began—Cubans, Portuguese, South Americans, French Basques, and some Germans, who had gone to Spain to live and were now almost as Spanish as the natives. Franco wanted to exchange these men as "internationals," since he could not possibly match the thousands of Italian prisoners taken by the Loyalists with a paltry 500 prisoners from the International Brigades.

The prison was a bleak monastery on the northern end of the great Navarre plateau. The cold winds whistled through its walls summer and winter. The leaves on the trees had turned a dreary brown even in July, and the freezing nights provided a sharp contrast for those of us who had fought at Brunete during the dog days of the year before. The monastery had been built on the ruins of the palace of El Cid, who centuries before had led the successful revolt against the ruling Moors, and on the façade of the gateway was a huge rough sculpture showing El Cid on horseback piercing with his lance the crescent and star of the Moorish shield. The guards always looked uncomfortable when one of us would point to the sculpture and ask them who had brought the Moors back into Spain. Another work of art we liked was a huge statue of El Cid on top of the bell tower. Originally he had held his sword high in his right hand, but time and the wind had conspired to destroy the sword, and he was left overlooking the prison with his hand raised in "Red Front" salute. (Fascist Spain abounds in these curious contradictions. Basque Catholics relish the story of Franco's personal bodyguard, composed of picked Moors, who fly as their emblem the six-pointed star, also the emblem of international Free Masonry.) Attached to the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

monastery was an old church which some of the Spanish prisoners told us was one of the historic monuments of old Spain. During my service in the Loyalist army I had seen churches converted into schools, meeting-halls, and supply warehouses, but the only one I saw used to camouflage a munitions dump was here in Franco's territory. Within this church were stored hundreds of huge airplane bombs and artillery shells.

San Pedro, like other prisons, observed a strict routine. Our food never varied. For breakfast we had a hot concoction composed of water, crude olive oil, stale bread, and garlic. We always had beans or something similar for the first course at lunch, red beans or white beans or horse beans or lentils or chick peas. These were served in hot water and oil without any other vegetable. Sometimes bean soup was the only course, since we celebrated in common with the rest of Fascist Spain the *plato unico*. According to this custom every Spaniard loyal to Franco eats once a week a one-course meal and donates the money saved to the war fund. As prisoners we made our contribution two or three times a week. If there was any other course it usually consisted of two fresh sardines fried in olive oil or, once or twice a week, potato soup garnished with a suggestion of meat. Eight times during my prison life a tasteless boiled fish was served us instead of beans, and three times we received two tablespoonfuls of lettuce apiece. In all fairness, however, I should mention that on July 18, the anniversary of the birth of the counter-revolution, our two courses consisted of potatoes and meat and a tuna-fish salad. The memory of that meal remained long with us. For supper, again, the routine was invariable—bean soup and two fried fresh sardines. Supplementing this, two pound loaves of bread were given us daily. One of the prisoners, an Austrian doctor, estimated that the diet was more than sufficient in calories but that it lacked the vitamines of green vegetables, and although it served to keep us alive would not mean health and strength.

At no time were we issued tobacco through the prison authorities; the Red Cross once gave us twenty Spanish cigarettes apiece. We did get some tobacco from the Asturian and Basque prisoners through the prison grapevine, and in July after some of us had received money from home we were allowed to buy tobacco and coarse chocolate and cookies. All 700 of us lived in two large halls, about 300 feet long and 20 feet wide. For more than three months we slept on the bare stone floor shoulder to shoulder; later we were given burlap sacks and mattress covers and, just before we were exchanged, straw to stuff inside the covers. Sanitation was almost non-existent; five toilets and three washbowls served 700 men. There was always a long cue waiting to wash, and at any hour of the night fifteen or twenty men could be found in the washroom taking improvised sponge baths or washing clothes. Lice, fleas, mice, and other vermin were abundant, and it was only once in about every six weeks that we were marched under heavy guard to a river two miles away, where for ninety minutes we were allowed

"SETTLEMENT" IN SPAIN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to bathe and wash our clothes. Every morning we were taken out for an hour's calisthenics; the exercise usually consisted in raising one's arm in the Fascist salute and shouting "Franco!" But we welcomed these periods because only then and at mealtimes were we allowed to leave our cramped quarters—except, of course, when visitors came.

We welcomed visitors warmly since we were usually placed in the fields when they came. In addition most of them spoke English, and we would always vie with one another in worming news out of them. One of our visitors was Charles A. Bay, United States consul at Seville. He refused to see all the Americans but consented to talk to twenty. Of these twenty he actually spoke with only six. Of each he asked the same two questions: "Do you want to hear from your family?" and "Why don't you write them?" The replies were the same from all six: we were very anxious about our families, and we were not allowed to write. After that Mr. Bay passed a pleasant afternoon drinking beer with the *comandante,* and we never saw him again.

Other visitors were Colonel "Wild Bill" Donovan, former Republican candidate for the governorship of New York, the Duchess of Talevera, British-born but married to Spanish royalty, and William P. Carney, Franco's propaganda ace who also works for the New York *Times.* The Duchess's visit had its ludicrous aspects. Before her arrival the prison was turned into a pastoral scene of peace and charity; corporals and sergeants threw away their canes and smiled sweetly at their dear prisoners. But when the prisoners were formed for the principal event of the day—we were to shout hearty *Vivas* and *Arribas* for Franco and our captors—despite intensive rehearsals something went wrong, and from the massed formation of the 700 prisoners was heard only the high, piping voice of the Fascist corporal. This moving demonstration had not been prearranged, but I think all of us as we lined up were determined that, no matter what the cost, we would not be shown off to any royalty. The cost turned out to be not exorbitant: discipline tightened up the next morning and the sticks were used a little more freely. Beatings were far from a novelty anyway. But far worse than caning was "the hole"—a dungeon where the offender was kept in solitary and on half rations.

I don't suppose that most *Nation* readers need be told about the visit of Mr. Carney, which he so graphically reported in the New York *Times.* Carney, whom we shall always remember as the man who brought two packages of cigarettes for eighty prisoners, pictured the prison as a happy vacation resort where only the Americans were ungrateful for Franco's favors. Suffice it here to say that the river he saw flowing past the monastery, the playground, our commodious quarters, the industrious Scandinavians and the tawdry Americans were not even exaggerations; they were absolute lies, figments of a perverted imagination. When fourteen of us were released on October 2 in an exchange of prisoners, we met Mr. Carney again, on the French side of the international bridge. We accused him of outright lying, and he blandly admitted it. Shamelessly he told us that he had lied because "it was the only way to get the story out"—another falsehood, since he could have sent it from France. His unqualified statement that we all admitted having been recruited by the Communist Party or the North American Committee was preposterous; the subject was never mentioned in the interview, and the facts were otherwise.

The morale of all the "internationals" and especially the Americans was always sky-high. One reason for this was that we were constantly buoyed up by the example of the Asturians and Basques. Another reason lay in our own internal organization. We published a little underground newspaper which carried the gossip of the prison and interpreted the news we gleaned from the Fascist press. Once we were able to carry through an effective "strike" against lentils after a fourteen-day steady diet of them. We organized the San Pedro Institute of Higher Learning, which had 19 classes and 285 students. The courses included elementary arithmetic, integral calculus, language instruction in English, French, Spanish, Russian, and German, and lectures on political economy and the labor history of the United States and Great Britain. Afternoon lectures were given on almost every conceivable subject; a series of six was on "Zoos and Circuses," by a former animal trainer for British menageries. When night fell, we would post our own guards to watch for sentries, and then choruses representing our thirty-three different nationalities would sing their revolutionary folksongs.

The Fascists, of course, supplemented this underground activity with a morale-building program of their own. Mass every Sunday and feast day was compulsory, and once when a German, bred in militant anti-clericalism, refused to kneel, he was badly beaten and given a week in the "hole." Spellbinding priests harangued us three or four times a week, quoting at length from the sacred words of the *Generalísimo.* The gospel they preached was the clerical fascism of Portugal, according to which the employer is the patron and the worker the protege and everybody lives happily in peace and harmony ever after.

None of us were capable of much resistance to disease after our continued diet of bread and beans. The infirmary never had less than 100 patients, attended by our own doctors and first-aid men. All of us at one time or another were down with the grippe, diarrhea, or similar illnesses. At least half of us suffered from a peculiarly painful disease in our joints and bones, attributed by the doctors to the lack of green vegetables. Fourteen Americans and 100 English have been exchanged, but

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

600 men, including 77 Americans, remain. These men must be released before the winter sets in or there will be far fewer to go in the spring. All of them went through the last hard winter campaign in Teruel; the hardship of that, with the addition of the eight months in prison, has made them weak as kittens. Seven, including two Canadians, have already died; they will be joined by many more unless early freedom is obtained. All international troops have been demobilized by the republic, and Franco need not fear they will return to the front; there is no reason why they should not be released.

But they will not be released unless the United States State Department drops its disinterested attitude and demands their freedom. Even the British Foreign Office has bestirred itself to some extent and obtained for British subjects the permission to write home. Our State Department has not done even that. Washington may use as excuse the fact that the boys broke a law when they went to Spain, but ordinary decency and humanity demand that it act, and immediately. If the State Department's attitude was reliably reflected by Mr. Bay's, San Pedro may become the graveyard of many fine young men this winter.

Poland and the German "Peace"

BY HENRY B. KRANZ

NO longer are the Balkans the prime puzzle of Europe. Poland has taken their place. In the Czech crisis Poland's position remained undefined until the last moment, but its final determination not to allow the Russian army to march through had more weight in deciding the fate of Prague than is commonly realized.

Now that Hitler has Czechoslovakia, will he proceed to conquer Southern and Eastern Europe? I venture to say that Poland may be the decisive factor in the events of the next few months. Poland has 35,000,000 inhabitants. The fanatically nationalist Polish army, with 3,000,000 magnificently equipped and trained soldiers, is only a little weaker than the Italian army. Poland's armament bill is enormous. Fifty per cent of the yearly budget is devoted to the army. Poland is the buffer state between Fascist Germany and Communist Russia. In addition, it lies between the Baltic states to the north and the Balkans to the south. On its autonomy depends the present balance of power in Eastern Europe.

In September Poland refused to stand by the democratic states. It did not want a war. It feared that a war, no matter what its outcome might be, would mean the end of the new Poland. If the allies—France, England, Russia—conquered, the Communist ideal would enter the hearts of the Poles, and 5,000,000 Ukrainians, oppressed for years, would demand reunion with their Russian brothers. If Germany won, Poland would face the danger of complete dismemberment. A victorious Germany would find it child's play to destroy a state in which 12,000,000 people, 32 per cent of the population, belong to national minorities. As is well known, Germany proclaims the right of self-determination whenever it finds it convenient, without regard to its own minorities. Poland knows that Nazi Germany looks upon it as an enemy even if Hitler is courting it today. Therefore it is pursuing a "realistic" foreign policy, dictated by the situation at the moment. Such a policy is of course unpredictable.

What price did Poland demand of Germany for its refusal to allow Russia to use it as a passageway, and when was the "deal" consummated? The time was probably as early as last spring, and the price was the major part of Lithuania in exchange for the Corridor, with Danzig and Memel going to Germany. Hitler has been trying for years to get closer to the Russian border. With Memel and later Riga in his possession, this goal would be attained. Last March the Poles threatened to invade Lithuania to avenge the shooting of a Polish border guard. A forty-eight-hour ultimatum was followed up with impressive military preparations. Lithuania, with its 2,500,000 inhabitants, naturally had to capitulate to its stronger neighbor. This ultimatum was only a prologue to what is to come. It was not simply to obtain the resumption of normal diplomatic relations that the whole country was aroused to the highest pitch of nationalistic excitement. Poland's Foreign Minister, Colonel Beck, is one of the most astute diplomats in Europe, a politician of the old school, and one of the busiest travelers among European ministers. He was in Berlin and Rome shortly before the Lithuanian incident. It is natural to assume that the bargain was made at that time.

That Hitler is laying the groundwork for the "conquest" of Lithuania much as he prepared for that of Czechoslovakia is apparent from the latest events in Memel. On October 26 the predominantly German Diet met in a lively session marked by demands for autonomy. At the same time leading Memel Germans in conference at Königsberg in East Prussia decided to submit to the Lithuanian government a memorandum containing de-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mands which mark the beginning of agitation for German annexation of that territory—Henlein's tactics repeated in another Slavic country.

Paradoxically, Germany, which today threatens to destroy Lithuania, assisted at its founding as an independent state in 1917. When Germany collapsed in November, 1918, the Allies chose to perpetuate the existence of the young Lithuanian state—for the same anti-Bolshevik reasons. But its boundaries remained to be fixed. First the Lithuanians retired to Kaunas, and the Russians moved into Wilno. Three months later the Russians were driven out by the Poles. In June, 1920, the Soviets began an offensive against the Poles and once more occupied Wilno. They then concluded a peace with the Lithuanians, ceding them Wilno with the idea of strengthening a future ally against Poland. In October, 1920, the Polish general Zeligowski, in a private raid, recaptured the city. The Polish government denied that it was behind this undertaking, but it promptly took the city and surrounding territory under its protection. The Lithuanians then appealed to the League of Nations, which backed up the stronger contestant. Wilno and the surrounding territory remained Polish, but Lithuania broke off all relations with Poland, and not till March of this year, under threat of force, did it resume them.

Germany today would like to see Lithuania disappear. Poland, which agreed with Germany in March, is wavering. Which is Poland's greater enemy, Germany or Russia? Where do the greater advantages for it lie?

The Poles have always been rubbed the wrong way by the Nazis. For years Nazi agents have been working feverishly among the million Germans in Lower Silesia, Posen, Danzig, and the Corridor, preparing for the *Tag* when German soldiers shall march through these districts again. Recently the leaders of the German minority in Poland adopted the slogan, "One nation, one party, one leader." On German maps Poznania is marked "Province of Posen" and Pomorze is the "Province of West Prussia." In Danzig, nominally a free city under the supervision of the League of Nations, the Nazi leader Albert Förster declared, "We in Danzig embody a German state with a population which is 96 per cent German. We belong to no other state which can tell us what to do."

The 1,200,000 Poles in Germany are treated as second-class citizens. Thousands of Polish workingmen are in concentration camps. Polish farmers have been forcibly dispossessed. Polish business enterprises are boycotted, sometimes officially, and Polish organizations are subjected to raids. Parents who send their children to Polish schools are excluded from winter relief and other social-welfare assistance. All Polish young men must enter the labor-service army, the "high school of National Socialist education." Peasants are not allowed to acquire land, even by purchase from their own parents, and Polish church services are rapidly being curtailed. Protests from the League of Poles in Germany have received either no answer or one referring to Polish persecution of Germans. Two weeks ago 25,000 Jews of Polish citizenship were arrested and rushed to the border in special trains with only ten marks in their pocket. Only when the Polish government prepared to expel Germans living in Poland was the deportation suspended. Seven thousand Jews already put across the border could not return to their homes in Germany.

Colonel Beck, a sober realist, has never doubted that he is too weak to oppose Germany single-handed. And, more astute than Dr. Benes, he has not relied on French promises. His idea has been to create a sort of "Third Europe," a bloc of Poland, the Baltic states, the Little Entente, and the Balkan Entente. This bloc was not to have any ideological basis. It was to be a club of states. The members were to enjoy complete liberty in their foreign policy but be bound by common aims. This "Third Europe" was to form not a rigid axis but a supple chain. Benes did not appreciate the significance of this idea, any more than he realized that friendship with Schuschnigg was the only salvation for Czechoslovakia as well as for Austria. Nor did the French politicians go along with Colonel Beck. When Beck proposed to change the Little Entente into a "Federation of Four States," France is supposed to have advised Benes against it. What remained for Poland, then, but to go its own way? Forced to live between Germany and Russia, menaced on both sides and without reliable allies, it had to apply itself carefully, before all else, to preserving its independence.

Pilsudski, the saber-rattling, ardent revolutionary who founded Poland, was no friend of Germany's. It is said that as early as 1933 he proposed to France that they wage a preventive war on Germany, but France would have none of it. So Pilsudski had to conclude a ten-year peace with Hitler. Today there is a strong Germanophile element in the Polish army which would like a military alliance with Hitler and to obtain it would be willing to sacrifice the Ukraine and perhaps even Gdynia, Poland's one outlet to the sea. The collapse of the Little Entente and France's betrayal of Prague have been very sobering to Poland.

In case of a war with either Germany or Russia, Poland's difficulties would be greatly increased by the disaffection of the Ukrainians within its borders. The National Democratic Union, the largest Ukrainian political organization, declared a short time ago that every attempt at friendly relations with the government had been repulsed. It pointed to the oppressions which the Ukrainians suffer and demanded the recognition of a separate Ukrainian nation and the right to unhindered development. The National Democratic Union, in spite of its name, is conservative with fascist leanings and is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

supported by German agents. Hitler would like nothing better than a Ukrainian revolt.

In a war against Russia, Poland would have to defend an eastern frontier which not only lacks all natural protection but is populated chiefly by these malcontents. In Polesia only 14 per cent of the inhabitants are Poles, in Volhynia only 16.6 per cent, in the Stanislau only 22.4 per cent. Moreover, the Poles live mainly in the cities, while the Ukrainian and White Russian elements predominate on the flat plains. And the Communist tide is rising in these districts. In a war against Russia the people would probably make common cause with the enemy. Germans and Russians are vying for the friendship of the Ukrainians—and the Poles have their hands full asserting their authority.

The partial dismemberment of Czechoslovakia created for Poland an entirely new situation, but Colonel Beck has not abandoned his plan of a "Third Europe." Lately, to everyone's surprise, he showed up in Bucharest. Why, he asked King Carol, wouldn't it still be possible to form a coalition of Poland, Hungary, and Rumania? The condition would be the partition of Ruthenia and a common Polish-Hungarian frontier. Under this arrangement Czechoslovakia, which is now a vassal of Germany, and also Germany itself would be cut off from Ukrainia. Beck knows quite well that Hitler's prime purpose is to get the treasures of coal, steel, and wheat of the Ukraine into his hands. But Beck tried in vain to convince the Rumanian king of the necessity for the partition of Ruthenia. He pointed out that Rumania was threatened by the 750,000 Germans in Transylvania and by the vital importance to Germany of Rumania's oil wells, and that the new boundary would form an excellent protection. King Carol refused, convinced that Britain and France would not support him if he attempted to block the German march to the East. He is doing his utmost to turn the two million Hungarians within Rumania into good Rumanians, but he held out firmly for the self-determination of the Ruthenians. And he insisted that access to the Black Sea must be preserved for Czechoslovakia.

Thus Czechoslovakia was saved from further dismemberment—and Hitler won another battle. He is now in a position to push both east and south. As soon as he has prepared the Ukrainian revolt against Poland, as soon as his propaganda has fully won over the Ruthenian peasants whom he now claims to be protecting from the Poles and Hungarians, he will make his next move. It may eventuate in the foundation of a Greater Ukraine, uniting all the White Russians, Ruthenians, and Ukrainians who now form minorities under Polish, Rumanian, Soviet, and Hungarian rule—39,000,000 people. With this state as a vassal Hitler's dream would become a reality. Germany would be industrially independent, and Soviet Russia and communism would receive a staggering if not fatal blow.

In the Wind

AFTER A government-sponsored visit to war-ravaged areas in China a number of Japanese writers set down their reactions for Japanese newspapers. Masajiro Kojima, one of the group, wrote as follows in the Osaka *Mainichi:*

> . . . The Commercial Press, the North Station, the San-ili primary school, and the Tsingtse girls' high school . . . presented their battered ruins. The thoroughness with which they were wrecked really enraptured me. They are undoubtedly a poem of destruction . . . a vast expanse strewn with debris of shattered red brick and building materials. . . . I saw plenty of examples of the beauty one finds in destruction carried out to perfection. . . . Chapei today stands expressionless save for patches of wild flowers here and there. Personally I would rather preserve the battlefields as they are, like the Pompeii ruins. I would loathe to see reconstruction rise up above the "poem of destruction."

WHEN THE La Follette committee starts hearings on the Associated Farmers, a West Coast anti-labor organization, the latter body will announce its expansion into a national association. It will claim 100,000 members scattered over fifteen states and will press for restrictions on labor similar to those just enacted into law in Oregon.

AFTERMATH OF the "Mars" invasion: radio executives report that the Charlie McCarthy program has dropped to second place in public favor; Orson Welles is now first.

NEGOTIATIONS LOOKING toward ironclad government censorship of news broadcasts are quietly taking place in Canada. Participants in the discussions are the Canadian Press, the Canadian Newspaper Publishers' Association, and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. The agreement, which would parallel radio control in fascist nations, would give the government authority not only over news broadcasts but over all other commentators.

NEW YORK voters were bewildered by the pre-election conduct of the Scripps-Howard *World-Telegram.* Every editorial that nominally indorsed Lehman gave at the same time a number of reasons why voters should support Dewey. The real story behind this performance, newspapermen say, goes back to the Supreme Court fight, when Roy Howard urged Lehman to oppose the President's bill. Lehman did so, and Howard was convinced his own advice determined the Governor's stand. Howard favored Dewey for governor but felt that he owed a debt to Lehman; hence the weaseling.

GERMAN ECONOMIC officials, seeking capital to exploit acquisitions in Southeastern Europe, have focused on Switzerland. The German Reichsbank is negotiating with Swiss banks to get them to contribute, the Nazis contending that such cooperation is "inevitable" since Munich.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

I HAVE been much interested in the intimations coming from Hyde Park during Mr. Roosevelt's stay there that the new armament program which is to cost us a mere trifle of five billion dollars is to be sold to the American people as another way of bringing back prosperity. By indirect quotation we are told that the Chief Executive is grasping at this form of public expenditure in order to take a lot more men off the dole, which in turn will sell the preparedness idea to the American business man. Already I have seen echoes of this in articles forecasting the business outlook for 1939. There the armament program is solemnly listed as one of the factors that will make for better business in the months to come. Precisely as has happened in England, the story goes, our factories will hum with making more guns, more shells, more airplanes, more anti-aircraft weapons, and more cruisers and battleships. We are to put men to work by the hundred thousand safeguarding the United States. Specifically the President has announced that he is going to rebuild the abandoned New Orleans Navy Yard and reopen a long-closed plant in West Virginia used to make armor during the World War.

In other words, we are to imitate Adolf Hitler. It was easy for Hitler to wipe out the army of 6,000,000 unemployed which he found when he took office. He put every able-bodied boy in a work camp for six months. He built an army of a million men, increased his navy, and put at least two million to work in armament factories and on fortifications. Why shouldn't we do the same? Our voluntary work camps have helped a lot. Our navy yards are already humming with work on battleships and cruisers in various stages of completion. Why not whoop it up on a still larger scale, throwing in five billion dollars to put men to work again? It is fascinatingly easy, isn't it? I have no doubt it sounds so to the average person who does not stop to think, who is ignorant of economics and may really be seriously alarmed lest the all-conquering Hitler fly innumerable men in planes across the Atlantic to burn Washington and steal all our gold.

Well, the difficulty of it, aside from any question of national defense, is that it is based on utterly false economics and will not make for permanent prosperity but merely create profits for the munitions makers. It will help them to a false prosperity, and when the new program comes to an end we shall have them howling for more guns and more ships and more ammunition and more poison gas and more airplanes and all the rest. They will rush to Washington tearing their hair and ask a future President and a future Congress in heaven's name not to throw all their people out of employment and back on the dole. They will prove conclusively that the country is more than ever in danger from foreign attack; they will get up war scares as they have subventioned them in the past. They will strike the patriotic note and demand that they be supported in their entirely unselfish desire to safeguard the country from foreign attack. Already it is reported from Washington that the Administration has decided on a fleet large enough to defeat single-handed the combined armadas of Japan, Germany, and Italy. When we have reached that point we shall be told that we shall have to have a fleet large enough to defeat Japan, Germany, and Italy, plus England and perhaps France. For if things drift as they are now drifting in Europe, France and England will be vassals of the dictators in three or four years.

The answer to rearmament as a means of restoring prosperity is fortunately available. The matter has come up before. In June, 1937, Edward F. McGrady, Assistant Secretary of Labor, representing the American government at the International Labor Office Conference at Geneva, said, speaking for Mr. Roosevelt: "The significance to labor of this problem appears in the simple fact that every workman engaged in the construction of armaments must be provided with the necessities of life by the labor of those who are engaged in productive enterprises. . . . I predict that the working men and women of the world will not forever be content to stand by while civilized living is being sacrificed on the altar of armaments. No longer will they be willing to forge the means of their own enslavement and their own destruction." But I have a still stronger witness, Franklin D. Roosevelt himself. Speaking at Buenos Aires on December 1, 1936, only two years ago, he said that employment given by armament work "is false employment, it builds no permanent structure and creates no consumers' goods for the maintenance of a lasting prosperity. We know that nations *guilty of these follies* inevitably face the day either when their weapons of destruction must be used against their neighbors or when an unsound economy, like a house of cards, *will fall apart.*" (Italics mine.) Well, which is it to be, Mr. Roosevelt—the sound position taken at Buenos Aires two years ago, or the present misleading appeal to the manufacturers and business men of the country for an "unsound economy"?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

HOLMES AND FRANKFURTER

BY MAX LERNER

NO BOOK* this year will be more intensively read between the lines than this one. In fact many people are likely to scan the interstices who have no mind for the lines themselves. We owe this fact to the accident (or is it an accident?) that the foremost scholar on recent Supreme Court history is also the most assiduously discussed prospect for filling the current Supreme Court vacancy. We owe it also to the paradox that one of the most controversial figures in American life has always been reticent in the extreme about the public expression of his views. This man whose mind has touched and influenced so many others in law, government, business, education, has a way of saying little and making every word count. The more the magazines and newspapers write about him, the less he seems to write for them, by a sort of Gresham's Law which dictates that bad writing drives out good.

Those who come to the book for the light that it sheds on Frankfurter as well as on Holmes will not be disappointed. For no man can write about another without writing at the same time about himself, and every man who has written about Holmes has managed to write something of himself into Holmes. But Mr. Frankfurter has done more. He has written a good deal of himself into his discussion of the Supreme Court and the judicial process, and he has done it courageously. Never in our history has anyone so prominently mentioned for appointment to the court written in so critical a vein of its conservative tendencies. There is no indictment, no finger-pointing. Mr. Frankfurter's method is one of deadly objectivity. In each of his three lectures he considers a phase of Holmes's work on the Supreme Court—his views on "property and society," on "civil liberties and the individual," and on "federalism." He begins each lecture with a brief introduction giving the factual social setting for the court's work in each field, and then proceeds to Holmes's views. The effect is to show that one can be human and reasonable although a Supreme Court judge, and to reveal the chasm that separated Holmes and some of his liberal colleagues from the court majority during his years of tenure. It is as if there were, in the sense in which Disraeli spoke of the "two nations" in England, two Supreme Courts instead of one. Without this factual context, Holmes's opinions are great utterance; with it they take on, in addition, the accents of inevitable statesmanship.

Mr. Frankfurter's eye is always on Holmes and his opinions. Yet the book is also a study of the judicial process, in the sense in which a profound book on Keats would have to contain at the same time a theory of the creative process in poetry. Mr. Frankfurter loves the judicial process, whatever he may think of some of its practitioners. And he is plainspoken about its frustrations because he believes so deeply in its possibilities. It is partly because of this *odi et amo* at the base of Mr. Frankfurter's attitude toward the Supreme Court and partly because the book is about Holmes that it contains his best writing thus far. The sentences crackle and glow, the argument moves swiftly, and there is a sustained brilliance of phrase that gives an edge even to his poised and balanced judgments.

There can be no quarrel with the estimate of the greatness of Holmes's opinions. But since the book is also an inquiry into the nature of the judicial process, I am inclined to linger over the analysis of how Holmes arrived at his judgments. Mr. Frankfurter underscores Holmes's capacity to "transcend personal predilections and private notions of social policy"—what I should call the "austerity theory." But if Holmes was so completely above the battle, it would seem harder to apply Mr. Frankfurter's social-context method of approach to him than to any judge in the court's history. It fits the early Brandeis or the present Black; one can even use it for the inverted sociology of Field or Sutherland. But it is surely one of the prime paradoxes about Holmes that one who averted his eyes from social needs should have written opinions that coincided with, let us say, those of Justice Brandeis, which were frankly sociological.

There are several hypotheses for resolving this paradox. One is that Holmes was a socially neutral Olympian whose credo about the court's power happened by the merest accident to jibe with our deepest social needs. I say "by the merest accident," for if Holmes was a completely disinterested mind who always gave the legislatures *carte blanche,* there can be no strictly logical relation between his decisions and the needs of America: for all we know, the legislators might have wholly misgauged the social needs, and judicial tolerance have been no blessing. Mr. Frankfurter seems inclined to a second and more forceful view of the austerity theory. He points out that Holmes's

* "Mr. Justice Holmes and the Supreme Court." By Felix Frankfurter. Harvard University Press. $1.50.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tenure on the court coincided with an upsurge of regulatory legislation in the interest of "bringing to the masses economic freedom commensurate with their political freedom." Thus his policy of a laissez faire attitude toward the legislatures would be likely to have the same social consequences as a more affirmative method of deciding cases in terms of their social context. Holmes's opinions took on, as it were, the color of the legislature's sense of social need. Logically such a sociology is still strongly tinged with the accidental, but it is accident geared to historic trend.

My own leaning would be away from either of these explanations and toward a third. It may be true, as Mr. Frankfurter observes of Holmes, that "he had an artist's craving for perfection and sought it through an austere observance of the demands of judicial self-limitation." But I am not satisfied with the entire austerity theory. For anyone to transcend his own convictions in the way Holmes is reported to have done would be more than human—and Holmes was always human. I am less impressed with Justice Holmes's austerity than with his shrewd Yankee sense of strategy. As a consummate artist, Holmes had a genius for economy of effort. He knew the extent to which a judge's constitutional doctrines were shaped by his social views, and his social views by his training and his sense of economic interest. He knew his brothers on the bench, and how their narrow lawyers' intelligences could play havoc with the broad demands of social growth. He knew how hard it was to hope for anything from a head-on encounter with them about social policy. And he must have known that, given the power of judicial review, the best way to keep them from meddling over much with the processes of social adjustment was to limit their activity as censors. Thus Holmes became the father of judicial self-limitation.

I am the more inclined to this view by several other considerations. One concerns the difficulty we have always had, on the premise of Holmes's uncompromisingly judicial austerity, of explaining the fault-line between his property decisions and his civil-liberty decisions. The problem is this: how reconcile Holmes's toleration of legislative restrictions on property with his refusal to tolerate legislative restrictions on civil liberties? Mr. Frankfurter's resolution of this paradox is brilliant, but it stays within the limits of the austerity hypothesis. "Just as he would allow experiments in economics which he himself viewed with doubt and distrust," he says of Holmes, "so he would protect speech that offended his taste and wisdom." But surely that is either stretching austerity too far and making self-denial almost an end in itself, or shifting the ground from the principle of judicial self-limitation to the actual social values to be conserved, whether of economic experiment or intellectual experiment. I incline to the latter view as the more adequate, and I wish that Mr. Frankfurter were more consistent in holding to it. Holmes had a realistic way of keeping his eye on the object. He did not make a fetish of the policy of judicial tolerance because, in cases of legislative infringement of civil liberties, he found his colleagues all too willing to pursue such a policy. What was good strategy in regard to the economic restrictions because it led to good social consequences became bad strategy in the civil-liberty restrictions because it led to bad social consequences.

There were, moreover, cases even in the economic areas where Holmes dropped his protective mask of judicial tolerance and acted clearly in accord with his views of economic theory. These were, to be sure, cases where the question was one of interpreting rather than invalidating legislation; yet we all know that the court has shown its power as much in its interpretation of statutes as in its veto of them. One instance was Holmes's opinion in the Northern Securities case. We can sympathize today with Theodore Roosevelt's rage over a line of reasoning which did so much to whittle down the effectiveness of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. It is interesting also to read Holmes's opinion in the Dr. Miles Medical Company case, and watch his floundering in the bog of Austrian economic theory, and see the similarity between his views and those which whittled down the effectiveness of the Federal Trade Commission. Mr. Frankfurter himself mentions some instances of Holmes's archaic views of economic theory. All these cases added together remain marginal and do not reflect upon Holmes's greatness. Yet they indicate that Holmes was not wholly austere in his approach to legislation—that he had economic notions and applied them directly in his opinions, although most often he found it better strategy to let the legislature have its way, so long as it was safe to do so.

I do not want to press too hard this view of Holmes as a strategist. He was neither schemer nor dreamer. He was an aristocrat who cherished on the one hand little love for the *novi homines* of capitalism and on the other very few illusions about tender-minded sociologists and reformers. His decisions show scant sympathy for either. Yet he was caught in a dilemma. As an aristocrat he would not go out of his way to concern himself with mass welfare; neither, however, would he let the capitalists have things to themselves. The best gesture was at once generous and Olympian—to let the legislature have its way. He saw the uses to which he could put the philosophically aristocratic doctrine of judicial laissez faire, and to give it substance he added to it the philosophically aristocratic concept of the reasonable man, borrowed from the common law of torts, changing it into the concept of the not unreasonable legislator.

He was not the greatest judge we have had on the Supreme Court. Marshall was greater, and Taney. He had too much skepticism and too little fighting faith, was too little part of the emerging forces of our economic life, to be able to shape those forces with an unquenchable will.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But he was probably the greatest mind and the most complete and human personality we have had on the court. If I have a quarrel with Mr. Frankfurter's masterly study it is for the tendency I have pointed out to take Holmes's rhetoric of austerity at its face value, and the tendency to deify him. I think I understand what lies behind this tendency. There is Mr. Frankfurter's own knowledge of the man, and his love for him. There is the fact that the Holmes method of judicial self-limitation, so long neglected by the court majority, has come into the ascendancy in the present court, and Holmes may be viewed somewhat as the judicial prophet now vindicated. Finally—for no work today can help being an *oeuvre de circonstance*—there is the author's desire to hold Holmes up as a model of tolerance and social rationality in an irrational and sadistic world. One may agree with all this and yet ask whether it is not time to bring Holmes down to earth. There he belongs and there, I think, he would prefer to be rather than in the godlike regions where men austerely transcend their social convictions.

FILMS IN NAZI GERMANY

BY R. R. PLANT

EVER since 1933 the German film industry has been in a dilemma. The pictures it makes for home consumption have to spread the spirit of National Socialism and demonstrate to every moviegoer the blessings of the Third Reich. But in order to make money, the producing companies must export their films, and many countries repudiate the Nazi ideology. In 1931, before the fall of the Weimar Republic, Germany exported films to the value of 59,000,000 marks. In 1937, after all "destructive" elements had been eliminated from its products, the carefully cleansed industry exported films to the value of only 7,200,000 marks. National Socialism has been bad business for the motion pictures. And needless to say, the German film has sunk to a low level.

One of the main reasons for this is the expulsion of the best producers, directors, writers, and actors. Directors like G. W. Pabst, Fritz Lang, Max Ophüls, Hermann Koster, Ludwig Berger, Erich Pommer, Robert Siodmak could not be replaced. Serious also was the loss of such composers as Frederick Holländer, Kurt Weill, Hanns Eisler, Karol Rathaus, Mischa Spoliansky, and of such actors as Elizabeth Bergner, Lucy Mannheim, Valeska Gert, Albert Bassermann, Fritz Kortner, Peter Lorre. Among the writers who are today living in exile are Bruno Frank, Vicki Baum, Robert Liebmann, Friedrich Raff, Max Kolpe, and Kurt Siodmak. Fritz Grünbaum, one of Austria's foremost comedians, is in a concentration camp, as are a number of other Austrian film artists.

Strangely enough, Kate de Nagy was able to return to Berlin after three years of exile; Dr. Goebbels certified her to be an "Aryan." This was a fact difficult to prove, but the German film industry is in such a precarious condition that it must at times disregard racial uncertainties. A university professor who is married to a Jewess must resign his position, a teacher or state official with Jewish relatives is expelled from service, but many of the artists working for German films are closely related to "non-Aryans." Jan Kiepura, the famous tenor, and Leni Riefenstahl, whose "Olympia" film represented the Third Reich at the festival in Venice, are said to be part Jews.

It must be emphasized that nationalistic or militaristic films are not the only kind that Germany turns out. Years ago Germany originated the film operetta (William Thiele, Ludwig Berger), and this type has flourished even since 1933. Reinhold Schünzel raised it to a high level, and it would be unfair to deny that Germany has put out charming musical comedies during the new regime. But Schünzel too has now left Germany and gone to Hollywood.

A second reason for the illness of the German film is found in the political censorship. More and more official restrictions are throttling it. Orders and taboos are today so numerous that nobody can know them all. The most petty detail can condemn a manuscript. As for the personnel, a complete lack of logic dominates its selection. Nazi youth leaders who may have been young butchers or bakers are given high positions; experienced men who joined the party too late are demoted.

The third reason lies deeper. It is the new intellectual attitude now dominant. Germany's strength has always been in the psychological and realistic film. At its best the German picture was a creation of individualities treating literary, psychological, and social themes. Today such a picture is impossible. Serious social problems may not be discussed in the Third Reich. Psychological themes—remember "Dr. Caligari" and Pabst's "Joyless Street"?—are only permitted within strict limitations. A frequently used word, *Kulturbolschevismus,* includes everything that does not fit into the Nazi ideology. The works of Sinclair Lewis are *Kulturbolschevismus,* and so are psychoanalysis and "Dr. Caligari." A brutal militaristic spirit has crept into the German film of today, as well as into many novels and short stories.

Not all films, however, contain open political propaganda. Detective and adventure stories are still turned out in the Ufa, Tobis, Terra, and Bavaria studios. But a strange phenomenon can be observed: all such plots are

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

laid in foreign countries. Murderers, thieves, bandits, and cruel, unsympathetic villains are necessary for exciting plots. By official decree they no longer exist in Germany, but fortunately for the film producer they still carry on in England, France, the United States, and other countries. Productions listed for the coming year include: "Water for Canitoga" (Alaska), "Robinson" (Chile), "A Woman Comes to the Tropics" (Africa), "Northlight" (Norway), "Sergeant Berry" (United States).

Only Italy and Japan are excluded as backgrounds for evil doings and fatherlands for villains. There is close collaboration between Japan and Germany in the matter of films. "The Daughter of the Samurai," directed by Dr. Arnold Fanck, was the first German-Japanese joint production. Everywhere in Germany are shown Japanese pictures—"Power of Japan," directed by Häussler, "Magic Hands," produced by the German-Japanese Association. The German government is gradually inducing the Japanese to reduce their importation of all other foreign pictures in order to favor German and Italian films. Similar collaboration exists between Germany and Italy. Three big joint productions are planned for the coming year.

The propaganda films of the Nazi Party seldom stray past the German frontiers. Numerous shorts about the Hitler Youth are distributed by the authorities to the smallest villages. "Triumph of the Will," directed by Leni Riefenstahl, was a masterpiece of propaganda. Now in preparation is a film with the unconsciously symbolic title "The Sword of Peace." This shows "the bolshevistic mobilization in other countries where the class struggle leads to bloody disturbances. In contrast to this spirit of destruction stands the peaceful constructiveness of Germany." The official German press laments that French and American films like "The Road Back" and "La Grande Illusion" "sin against the spirit of international peace, which German films serve with so much devotion."

Notes by the Way

THE divergence between influence and circulation is one of the exaggerated characteristics of modern journalism. The New York *Times*, which both represents and speaks to the dominant groups in government and business, is more influential politically than the New York *Daily News*, though its circulation of approximately a million is only half as great; in another context, such literary journals as the *Little Review* and the *Dial* have had more influence on the actual development of literature than *True Stories*. T. S. Eliot, in a recent commentary in the *Criterion*, cites evidence from a report on the British press which documents the spread. On the basis of investigation it finds that a "class" paper like the London *Times* exercises more influence than papers of far greater circulation, and further asserts that the exploitation of entertainment value required to build up a mass circulation prevents such papers from influencing the political views of their readers to anything like the extent of the "class" dailies and weeklies. Mr. Eliot's own aristocratic views lead him easily to the elegant and pained observation that although the minds of the masses may not be directly influenced "since they have none," their behavior can be directed. Even those who persist in believing in the educability and native sense of the masses must admit that their behavior often *is* directed. But the main reason lies not in their stupidity but in the fact that the owning minority controls the principal instruments of public opinion. The present widespread mental apathy is in large part the result of the occupational monotony of industrialism; it is exploited and increased by the lethal effects of sensation. And, what Mr. Eliot fails to point out, the sugar-coating of entertainment and flagellant advertising in the "popular" press always contains a strong editorial dose which works while the patient sleeps—a dose prepared by the owners of the sensational press, who after all represent the same interests as the stately *Times*. The wonder is, given a one-way set-up which affords expression to the common run of men only in the form of a simplified response to simplified and often distorted issues, that they dissent as often and as intelligently as they do. Certainly in the American election of 1936 they showed up for the huge joke it is the pretension of publishers that their newspapers represent anything but a privileged section of public opinion.

One need not share Mr. Eliot's views, however, to understand his concern over another category of journals, those devoted to literature and the arts, to which the descriptive word "class" applies in another sense. The New York and London *Times* are magnificently self-supporting in spite of their "class" character, and indeed because of it, since they can command rich advertising revenues. The standards of the journals Mr. Eliot has in mind put them outside the range of both mass circulation and advertising as a means of support. Yet "as the need for these unprofitable periodicals increases . . . so the difficulties of their production and circulation increase." Mr. Eliot concludes that the small periodical should have a circulation of from two to five thousand readers, most of them paying subscribers, and assumes that on this basis they could pay their way. This may be valid for England. Is it valid for America? With a sure paid circulation of five thousand such a magazine as the *Partisan Review*, which has been described in the *Criterion* as "by far the liveliest monthly that current English literature can show," could probably support itself. The difficulty is that the building up of such a circulation requires an investment seldom at the command of people who usually start such magazines.

The problem of the serious writer and his relation to periodicals naturally enters. In passing, Mr. Eliot made an ironical remark—"There is something to be said for not paying [contributors] in that this gives some assurance that the writer really has something he wants to say"—which brought him a vigorous rebuke from one of his own contributors. "The smallness or non-existence of payment," wrote Mr. Eliot's correspondent, "in the journals which constitute his rightful medium forces the writer into a slightly different kind of journal. The change is not necessarily disastrous . . . but at least the keenest edge goes off his work." He quotes a letter from a friend who describes himself as one of the writers whom "my god-damned country does *not* pay a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

living wage and whom it only pays when I interrupt my real work," and he concludes:

> The point seems to be that writers are not dramatically corrupted into Fleet Street snippeteers; what happens is that they are hindered from careful revision and interrupted in their real work. They can't leave their cakes long enough in the oven, and sometimes they have to leave their baking to boil up some tripe.

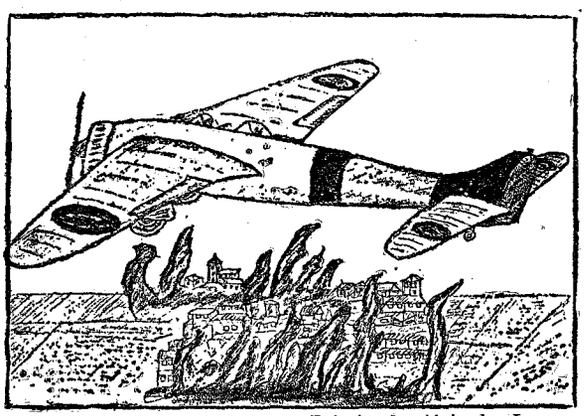
As one who frequently encounters, not aspiring, but so-called "established" authors who are on their uppers and lack the talent for boiling up tripe—which is a talent not easily come by—I know that there are Americans to match the English plaintiff quoted above.

Ignazio Silone, whose latest book is about to be published, offers his own views on this point in a note about himself in the first issue of *Twice a Year*. This publication, and a new quarterly, the *Kenyon Review*, are the latest signs in this country of the irrepressible impulse to set up new means of communication between thoughtful people.

> I have always thought [writes Mr. Silone] that the "intellectual worker" should have a second profession. The condition of my health forbade my remaining a farmer and working the soil; the other circumstances of my life, which has been rather painful [he is in exile], did not permit me to become a doctor. The fact that I now live from my earnings as a writer is the unexpected result of many factors. Nevertheless I strive not to become a professional writer.

Mr. Silone might obtain explicit testimony as to the validity of his theory from Dr. William Carlos Williams, whose distinguished verse and fiction have been written in the free hours of a practicing physician. His "second profession" has undoubtedly given special and important qualities to his writing. It may well be preferable to the "second profession" of boiling up some tripe as a means of livelihood. But it is difficult to believe that any writer would not prefer, if it were a mere matter of preference, to live by his best writing.

Last spring drawings and paintings by Spanish children in war time were shown at Lord and Taylor's in New York



Painting by Alejandro Lazcano

City. The Spanish Child Welfare Association of America, sponsored by the Quakers, has now published a volume containing sixty reproductions, with an interesting preface by Aldous Huxley. Proceeds from the sale of the book (it costs $1) will be used for Spanish children. Mr. Huxley writes:

> . . . One can put the matter arithmetically and say that up to the age of fourteen or thereabouts at least 50 per cent of children are little geniuses in the field of pictorial art. After that the ratio declines with enormous and accelerating rapidity until by the time the children have become men and women, the proportion of geniuses in about one in a million. Where artistic sensibility is concerned, the majority of adults have grown, not up, but quite definitely down.

He does not resolve the mystery or offer any device for making big geniuses out of little ones. He analyzes the dominant qualities in the art of children; and in respect to these particular pieces he notes what the most casual observer cannot fail to see, that for Spanish children the one overwhelmingly significant fact in the world of today is the military plane dropping its load of destruction on innocent homes and squares. The picture reproduced on this page is the most striking example of this preoccupation.

MARGARET MARSHALL

BOOKS

The Spanish War

MAN'S HOPE. By André Malraux. Translated by Stuart Gilbert and Alastair Macdonald. Random House. $2.50.

AS M. MALRAUX'S readers might have expected, "Man's Hope" is one of the most valuable books written on the Spanish war. At the same time, it is not the great book that he may yet write about the subject under more favorable circumstances. As organizer and commander of the government's international air force, he has been very close to his material: according to his publishers the book was written during his spare moments while he was in active service. To say that it is not so much a novel as a military history interspersed with philosophical commentary in dialogue form is no derogation of its author, for he has been doing a more important job than writing novels. It is the kind of job which must be done if great novels are to be written in the future.

The story covers the first eight months of the war, from the outbreak of the rebellion to the rout of the Italians at Guadalajara. Whatever may be the defects of the book as fiction, Malraux brings before our eyes, as only a master of clean and crisp prose can, events that hitherto have been little more than names to which we have attached the emotions of victory or defeat: Montaña Barracks, Plaza de Cataluña, Medellin, Alcázar, University City, Malaga, Brihuega. We see the workers' mobs armed with shotguns rushing against the machine-guns of the enemy, the Anarchists driving automobiles at seventy miles an hour into the Fascist artillery positions in the city streets, the miners chucking dynamite at the tanks, the patched-up discarded planes maneuvering against the squadrons of Junkers. Along with the military confusion of the early days goes a diversity of motives within the People's Front: the Anarchists seeking the ecstasy of direct action, the Agrarians with visions of watered soil

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

owned by those who till it, the Catholics looking to the republic for the cleansing of their church, the Communists in self-identification with the party executing unquestioningly the chosen means to a chosen end, the Socialists clinging to an idea of humanity, the republican officers remaining loyal from honor or prudence. We are shown the struggle of factions for authority, the antagonisms of the mercenary fliers and the volunteers, the pathos of the veterans of Fascist prisons who have lost their usefulness against the enemy. Gradually out of the heroic mob begins to emerge a disciplined army of the people.

Malraux has spent most of his time at the front, and he does not try to give a complete picture of the conflict. We are not shown the jockeyings of politicians and diplomats behind the scenes, nor has the author—an expert in the analysis of spiritual perversion—given us glimpses into the mind of the adversary. No more here than in his stories of the Chinese civil wars does he trace the roots of a political movement in the life of a people; for this one must go to such sources as Bates's "The Olive Field," Paul's "The Life and Death of a Spanish Town," and the film "The Spanish Earth." If "Man's Hope" is compared with Malraux's first three novels, what one senses most is the failure to embody ideas in persons, and to dramatize the social conflict in terms of individual conflict. The characters have become identified on the one hand with their actions and on the other with their ideas. In so reducing them, Malraux has observed the verisimilitudes of a doctrinal war such as he is chronicling, for in it the personality tends to shrink—or stretch—to the vanishing point.

The philosophical interludes show that Malraux is aware of his predicament. He is at the same time a man of action, an artist, and a moral individual. The man of action for the time being has submerged the other two: the artist becomes the soldier for the sake of art—future art; the moral person has abandoned himself to action because only so can he remain moral. Yet in the intervals of action the two submerged selves must judge the dominant self. The artist must write his own obituary; the moralist must pass judgment upon the imperfectly ideal character of his duty. As Garcia, who appears to be the author's chief spokesman, puts it: "All forms of action are Manichean, because all action pays a tribute to the devil; that Manichean element is most intense when the masses are involved. Every true revolutionary is a born Manichean. The same is true of politics, all politics." But no revolution, Garcia says elsewhere, can get along without a moral code. And in ethics as in aesthetics Malraux is no Manichean but a humanist; both his approval and his censure are always with tacit reservations. Yet his humanism is not of that enervating variety which would prevent his taking sides.

The reading of this book is made bitter by the realization that the forces which control the destiny of Occidental civilization are now trying to give the death-blow to the heroism and the aspiration which Malraux records. Since Munich the decline of the West, instead of being the occasion of a pleasurable intellectual shiver, has become an imminent reality. For our century the hope which is reflected in these pages has become Western Europe's—and possibly Western man's —last hope.

PHILIP BLAIR RICE

Poet in a Barrel

THE COMPLETE COLLECTED POEMS OF WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS. Norfolk, Connecticut: New Directions. $3.

A LITTLE more than thirty years ago a young American, determined to devote himself to poetry, turned his back on the usual distractions, including Europe and bohemianism, learned a trade (it happened to be medicine), and thus freed himself to write as fastidiously and as directly as he chose. This book is the result of his decision, his careful and exciting labors. For Dr. Williams, poetry means perfecting the language so as to make it express a man's own time. He believes that it is a job as exacting, as significant, as any task of science, a belief that carries particular weight when it comes from a practicing physician.

In his youth Dr. Williams was closely associated with Ezra Pound. The influence of Pound is apparent throughout the volume. It must have helped to strengthen the student's faith in the value of his art. It obviously shaped many poems of his first period, their imagery, their cadences, occasionally even the attitudes they present. Thus First Praise, Crude Lament, Ad Infinitum, among others, recall certain of Pound's early lyrics; the second Pastoral, Apology, Mezzo Forte, are reminiscent of some of the sharp brief comments in "Lustra"; there are a few succinct images that might have come from the same volume; the poem called The Death of Franco of Cologne, the medieval author of treatises on music, with its allusion to black-eyed children playing over a five-barred gate, is crammed with hints from the author of "Personae." Throughout there is that concern for the exact epithet, that combination of pure song and plain speech, which Pound has taught his confreres. But an atmosphere clings to this volume, apparent as early as the "transitional" pieces dated 1915, that is not to be found in "Personae" or in any of the crowded "Cantos." These poems, for all their references to Porto Rico, Spain, and France, for all their evidences of a mind alive to parent civilizations, are thoroughly American. They are homely, racy, of our own soil as well as of our own day.

The substance of the book is the America of the provinces, the small towns along the Passaic, their neat suburban homes and gardens, their festering fascinating slums, the trains that carry a man away from them, the ferry that communicates with the metropolis on the opposite shore, the joyous tawdry glitter of that metropolis from far away, the housewives, the sick paupers, the simple children, the crazy whores, the lonely servant girls that populate them. The rhythms are American, the bright staccato of electric signs flashing and winking. The language is a mixture of colloquialism and fine lyric utterance.

It is not easy poetry. Here is none of the raw casualness of Sandburg's style, or the simple whimsicalities of Lindsay. Williams belongs to a stricter school. His fidelity to the thing seen is only equaled in strength by the stubbornness of his refusal to compromise with his own standards. He may say too little to communicate his vision. Rarely does he say too much. Of all the imagists Williams remains the one who has been truest to their principles of being concise and concrete, and his abrupt music is wholly his own.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It is, however, neither for its indigenousness nor its economy that this book is chiefly to be valued. Its outstanding quality is a vitality that suffuses every part, from a slight notation on leaves and broken glass to the difficult and not wholly successful final poem, which, if I read it aright, has to do with the business of being a poet. The book is not without faults. The scene presented is limited. The author's rigorousness—which led him to omit some good things from this definitive collection—sometimes betrays him into undue obscurity. But he has the supreme virtue of a keen sensibility open to the least and meanest, as well as to the lovely and superb, impressions of his own place and time.

Wallace Stevens once called Dr. Williams "a kind of Diogenes of contemporary poetry." It is a marvelously right image. The nakedness, the old barrel, the lantern—they are all here, in work marked by utter candor, delighted irony. If this Diogenes had a mirror, he could quench his lantern; he would have found his man. BABETTE DEUTSCH

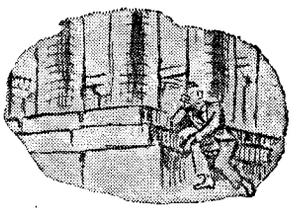
The Revolutionary Fever

THE ANATOMY OF REVOLUTION. By Crane Brinton. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.

BEFORE plunging *in medias res* the author of this volume defends science as he understands it against the "romantic lover of his fellow-men," whose objections he dismisses as emotional, and against the "skeptic and critic," whose attitude "can be shown to rest in good part on a misunderstanding of scientific method." He then gives a very readable presentation of the principles of this method: science knows no absolutes; each of its laws is tentative; a scientist *as scientist* is not concerned with the truth of the metaphysician or with the *Ding an sich,* but neither does he confine himself to "the facts and nothing but the facts"; on the contrary, he works with facts and fits them into a conceptual scheme without which he could not function at all and for which its usefulness is the only criterion. And of course personal fears, hopes, opinions must be rigorously excluded.

The author observes these standards as far as is humanly possible. For his study of four specific revolutions he borrows from pathology the concept of fever. He does not imply by his choice that revolutions are a disease or a burning purge, nor does he subscribe to an organic theory of society. He rejects Pareto's scheme of a social system in equilibrium as too ambitious for his limited purposes; he likewise rejects the thesis of the "storm" as too literary, too dramatic, and derived from so undeveloped a science as meteorology.

He proceeds then to work out fever charts for the English, French, and Russian revolutions and the American War of Independence, having rejected the Marxian connotation of the word revolution which assumes a change of power from one class to another as the essential feature. He hunts for facts—"empirically verifiable statements about phenomena in terms of a conceptual scheme" (L. J. Henderson); he checks, rechecks, and finally arranges them according to their uniformities, as established by comparison. The pre-revolutionary regime, the first symptoms of the approaching fever, the rule of the moderates, the accession of the extremists, the terror, and the thermidor are analyzed. In a summary an account



ADVENTURES IN LIVING INTELLIGENTLY

An urbane young philosopher, at large among people and ideas, discovers a zestful approach to contentment

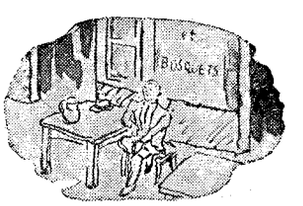
PHILOSOPHER'S HOLIDAY is not Irwin Edman's autobiography. Yet it is of himself, and, consequently, it is the life-story of an amiable and wise human being. Most of all it is about the people —world-famous and obscure—whom he has known. About the gob who was a philosopher and became a milkman; the French provincial doctor who planned an international society of humanists; the Nazi tycoon who sat beside the Aegean Sea and explained that civilization had just begun.

One cannot read this book without relaxing under its spell, without achieving some proper sense of one's relationship to the scheme of things, without realizing that it is possible to live charmingly, to be of good will and good company, to find comradeship anywhere, even—and sometimes especially—in solitude.

Book-of-the-Month for November
The Viking Press $2.75

Irwin Edman's

Philosopher's Holiday



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the achievements of the four revolutions is attempted.

I have not the space to list the uniformities Professor Brinton finds. Many come clear; others require more study, including the desertion of the intellectuals from the old regime as the most reliable sign of the impending revolution. The author himself warns the reader "whose appetites demand great discoveries." Nevertheless, even unreasonable expectations will not be disappointed, for the mere number of facts brought into comparison makes this volume more useful than many a more ambitious work in which striking interpretations and empty passions lead to nothing. The sober search for uniformities is here not spoiled by the irksome arrogance of those who, in the attempt to illuminate the "inner logic" of the complex revolutionary course, depend on flashes of "insight" which blind rather than enlighten the reader. The author is aware that one may know the anatomy of the bird and yet not understand what makes him fly. And it is in his favor that he has gone to school to both Trotsky and Pareto, to mention only two, without losing his intellectual freedom.

The style of the book is comparatively easy and elegant. The reader will remember enough of the material to set him thinking. The biographical appendix will serve to satisfy somewhat the interest here aroused in a phenomenon of human behavior, the study of which, especially today, is both important and, since history does make sense after all, consoling.

FRANZ HOELLERING

Grandma Griswold

GRANDMA CALLED IT CARNAL. By Bertha Damon. Simon and Schuster. $2.

WHEN Grandma Griswold, returning from a long winter walk over the Connecticut hills, made her belated lunch on a dish of cold turnip greens, she apologized for having devoured them with a gusto that was "nothing short of carnal." She didn't believe in such indulgence of one's lower nature; it was everyone's duty, she felt, to "keep the body under."

"Grandma Called It Carnal" is a charmingly written volume of reminiscences, tenderly sympathetic but not in the least sentimental, such as Clarence Day might have produced if he had got around to writing a "Life with Grandma." But it has a genial warmth and heartiness that one doesn't often find in Day. Although the style bristles with tingling witticisms and pungent descriptive bits, the author is not a professional writer angling for the book-buyer's two dollars with an interesting relative as bait; rather, the book sounds like a sincere offering on the altar of granddaughterly affection, a tribute to a woman of indomitable character seen through the eyes of both childhood and maturity—and always with a keen scent for the humor of the grim ways of a Puritanical Connecticut village as it was before the New York army of week-end occupation took it over.

Don't get the impression that Grandma was an ascetic. Though she lived under the eyes of the jealous God of the Puritan church, though she shut her door in the face of all "Modern Improvements" (with derisive emphasis on the "Improvements"), it was individualism, not mysticism, that supported her. Her resources were in herself. Thoreau and Ruskin—these were her prophets. "Simplify, simplify," Thoreau had exhorted, and he had put his preaching into practice. Grandma, as a lady, naturally couldn't go and live by herself in a hut in the woods, but she simplified; and she found life "near the bone," as Thoreau put it, sweeter than that complex existence that enslaves most of us to things, to externals. She raised flowers and breathed their fragrance with a nose whose perception had not been dulled by the stenches and synthetic perfumes of modern urban life; she could smack her lips, however guiltily, over beans or cold turnip greens because she flavored them with a sauce of hard exercise and healthy appetite.

And she had books—not novels or plays or other vain frippery, but good tough mental fare, even though ladies in her day were supposed to use all their energies in being good, and to let who would be clever. "From the general intellectual level of her town Grandma had early managed to lift herself by her own spiritual bootstraps." She had made her brother send her duplicate copies of all his college textbooks, and she had devoured them with a gusto for which she needed to make no apology, since no one could call such an appetite carnal.

Toward the end of her life even the hard shell of her Puritan ideology softened somewhat, and she came closer to the warm humanity and tolerance of her favorite philosopher from Walden Pond. When Thoreau lay on his deathbed someone asked him whether he had made his peace with God. "Sir," replied Thoreau, "I am not aware that we ever quarreled." When Grandma Griswold died, at the age of ninety-six, she too had come to recognize that her life had been happy not merely because she had lived in accordance with the Law but because she had lived with zest in her extremely circumscribed world.

LOUIS B. SALOMON

Saving and Spending

FULL RECOVERY OR STAGNATION? By Alvin Harvey Hansen. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.50.

IT WILL scarcely be questioned by anyone that the fundamental problems which America faces today are economic. Nor will it be denied that a successful solution of those problems requires as a first condition a clear understanding of their nature. It is for this reason that Professor Hansen's new book must be regarded as one of the most important to come from the pen of an American economist in recent years. By this I do not mean to imply that Professor Hansen has produced a learned treatise dealing with every aspect of the current economic scene, for he has not. What he has done is perhaps more important: he has set down in a form intelligible to the non-professional reader ideas which go to the root of many of our difficulties and ought to help us to lay intelligent plans for overcoming them.

Professor Hansen's central thesis may be summarized somewhat as follows. In a society such as ours in which there is at all times a certain amount of more or less automatic saving going on there must be an amount of expenditure on additions to the community's real capital at least equal to the amount of saving out of current income. If there is not, this

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

saving simply reduces the amount of current consumption and hence indirectly the need for investment. In other words, there must be outlets for new capital investment adequate to absorb what the community wants to save if we are not to have a permanent depression. But the trend of events in the last few decades has been extremely unfavorable in this respect. New territories are no longer open for settlement and exploitation; population is now practically stable and may soon begin to decline in various Western countries; no innovations in industrial technique which would require vast amounts of capital are in sight. In short, the era of economic expansion has come to an end, a fact which enormously aggravates the difficulty of finding a sufficient volume of investment outlets. These are hard facts which have to be reckoned with. As Professor Hansen says, "Many of us do not like the current trends in economic life. But in every age there is something more or less inevitable about the stream of historical events."

The implications of these facts for public policy are fundamental. It is extremely unlikely that capital expenditures by business men in search of profits will ever again approach a figure adequate to support a satisfactory national income. That they ever were adequate may be doubted. Professor Hansen shows that the prosperity of the twenties rested to an amazing extent on capital expenditures of a non-business nature, for example, residential construction and road-building. But if non-business expenditures were necessary even in earlier times, how much more true is this today when the field for business expansion has been radically curtailed. "When one views the problem in this manner," Professor Hansen says, "the role of public debt and of governmental expenditures, and indeed the whole question of taxation, takes on quite a different aspect from what it had in the nineteenth century." This, I think, is the very least that can be said.

If Professor Hansen's analysis is brilliant and profound, his proposals for policy are disappointing. The fault does not lie with him as an individual but with the tradition of thought—orthodox economics—with which he is identified. The economic system, according to the orthodox way of looking at things, can be analyzed and its ills prescribed for in complete abstraction from the kind of society to which it gives rise. Whether capitalism will survive, says Professor Hansen, "is not so much a question of class struggle; it is rather a question of the inherent workability of the system." But the basis of the system is a set of property relationships which carries with it a set of power relationships which, in turn, inevitably gives rise to the class struggle. Here again it is not a question of whether we like it or not; to attempt to understand capitalism in abstraction from class struggle is to miss the nub of the problem as it exists in the real world.

This does not mean that orthodox economics is not capable of contributing extremely valuable partial analyses: Professor Hansen's book is living proof to the contrary. It does mean, however, that these partial analyses fail to carry with them suggestions for ultimately successful action. I think this point is so important that I should like to illustrate what I mean by a specific example from Professor Hansen's book.

In his essay Economic Bases of Peace Professor Hansen gives an admirably clear analysis of one of the economic forces which drive the aggressor nations to seek new terri-

MR. JUSTICE HOLMES
AND THE SUPREME COURT
By Felix Frankfurter

"Significant not only as a study of the mind of Mr. Holmes, but as a revelation of the mind of Mr. Frankfurter."—*Lewis Gannett,* in *N. Y. Herald Tribune.* "These lectures reveal in action a mind as keen and liberal as the judge's own."—*N. Y. Times.* "Here in brief epitome is the essence of a great American . . . the picture of a great scholar and judge skilfully painted."—*Howard Mumford Jones,* in *Boston Transcript.* "A human interpretation of the court in terms of the work of one of its greatest members."—*Irving Dilliard* in *St. Louis Post-Dispatch.* $1.50

FASCIST ECONOMIC POLICY
By William G. Welk

A penetrating, objective analysis of the new economic system evolved by fascism in Italy and of the policies which the régime is pursuing in the economic field today. There is a detailed analysis of employment conditions and the labor market, the course of wholesale and retail prices, money wages, real wages, and the standard of living of the Italian people.
Harvard Economic Studies, 62. $4.00

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
Publishers of the Loeb Classical Library
Randall Hall, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Thomas Paine, Liberator
By FRANK SMITH

"The skeleton in America's closet (at grammar school we never heard of Paine) here finds a stout champion. Forcefully written, a prodigious amount of revolutionary history, English and French as well as American, is shoe-horned into this life of a great public man — who had only one face, one set of beliefs, and is still paying for it. Has to be read."
—*The New Republic.* $3.00
F. A. Stokes Co., 443 Fourth Ave., N.Y.

PRACTICAL PROBLEMS IN ECONOMICS
By BROADUS MITCHELL and LOUISE PEARSON MITCHELL

For *thinking* Americans, seeking an intelligent answer to such problems as:
Housing—Unemployment—Labor—The Farmer
Transportation—Public Utilities—Public Revenue
The "Co-op."
—this book provides a searching analysis.
HOLT
$3.50

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GOVERNOR

PHILIP F. LA FOLLETTE

OF WISCONSIN

Founder of the much discussed new third party:

THE NATIONAL PROGRESSIVES OF AMERICA

writes a regular weekly column for

THE PROGRESSIVE

Follow this outstanding feature **exclusively** in The Progressive each week.

FOR ONLY 20 CENTS

You can become a subscriber to this outstanding national weekly newspaper for 10 weeks through our trial subscription offer.

ACT NOW! Send 20 cents (stamps or coin) to

THE PROGRESSIVE, MADISON, WIS.

— One Minute Please! —

Louis Adamic *says—The New Leader without question is the most honest newspaper of the left, or perhaps I should say the newspaper of the honest left. It is a stimulating and lively paper.*

John Dos Passos *I read the New Leader with the greatest pleasure. I think that it is the best left-wing paper at present. Naturally I have the greatest sympathy with what you are sincerely trying to do.*

Elmer Davis *I have been reading the New Leader regularly and with much interest.*

James Rorty *The New Leader is doing a good job. I have been reading it with interest—in fact rely on it to give me the news of the radical front which I can't get reliably from liberal weeklies, or the capitalist press, or, of course, from the official communist press.*

The New Leader

American Labor's News-Magazine

7 EAST 15TH STREET NEW YORK CITY

Regular weekly feature columns by — Eugene Lyons, Charles Edward Russell, Tony Sender, Elias L. Tartak, Dick Reynard, Bernard Moore, assistant foreign editor of the London Daily Herald, Bryce Oliver, and a wide network of special correspondents.

DON'T BE CAUGHT SHORT BY THE NEXT CRISIS!

SUBSCRIBE TODAY!

Special offer to Nation readers—*ONE DOLLAR* for *ONE YEAR*—this offer good for new subs only—use this coupon

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

STATE.....

tory, namely, their urgent need for basic raw materials. The usual liberal answer is: Well, then, let them buy raw materials; the price is the same to them as to everyone else. But as Professor Hansen shows, the trouble is not the price but the simple fact that they have no money to pay with. And as long as restrictions on trade are such that they cannot export, it is clear that they cannot acquire the necessary money. From this Professor Hansen concludes that the remedy is a return, as far and as fast as possible, in the direction of free trade. The conclusion is as logical as it is futile. It completely ignores the fact that the ruling classes (or, in Veblenian terminology, the vested interests) in each country have erected the barriers to trade in order to monopolize the home market. To preach free trade to those who live on protection is like preaching suicide to a healthy man. The aggressions of today are a sufficient commentary on similar preachments of yesterday.

But I suppose it is too much to ask an orthodox economist to be more than a very good orthodox economist; and "Full Recovery or Stagnation?" shows that Professor Hansen is all of that. Anyone who will cast aside his preconceptions and prejudices and study this book carefully will gain greatly in understanding of the world's problems even if he may still be left wondering how they can be solved.

PAUL M. SWEEZY

RECORDS

AWARE that even Haydn is too remote for some present-day listeners I will say only that the sixteenth-century songs with lute accompaniment as sung by Max Meili, in the Victor special list's "Music of the Renaissance" (three records, $6.50), were moving and—in the cases of the Spanish songs—exciting experiences for me. Impressive also were the madrigals of Monteverdi on the first and fifth records of the album of his music ($7.50); the rest I cared less about. The performances directed by Nadia Boulanger are excellent.

Haydn is represented on the list by one of his fine London symphonies, No. 100 ("Military"), available heretofore only in a faulty performance on Columbia, and with its warmth and high spirits now well realized in Bruno Walter's performance with the Vienna Philharmonic (three records, $5). Of the same period is Boccherini's charming 'cello concerto, with its solo part phrased in extraordinarily dynamic fashion by Casals (three records, $6.50).

As against the great Chaconne movement of the Sonata in D minor, most of the other movements of Bach's six sonatas for unaccompanied violin affect me as mere exercises of his prodigious craftsmanship on the problems set by this limited medium—which is to say that the Sonata (or Partita) in B minor recorded by Menuhin (four records, $8) does not affect me at all. Only one other movement is comparable with the Chaconne: the magnificent Prelude of the Sonata in E major, which also is recorded by Menuhin (2½ records, $5). Menuhin, who once played with musicianship that was extraordinary for a child, does not yet play with musicianship extraordinary for an adult; meanwhile his performances are

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

highly competent, clear, and vigorous. Bach is further represented by the final chorus of the St. John Passion (one record, $1.50)—moving but repetitious, and beautifully sung by the chorus of the Berlin College of Instrumentalists under Stein. And by the Toccata in D (two records, $4), which has its impressive pages and its unimpressive ones, and is played on the harpsichord in imposing style by Landowska. On a single record ($2) she does a few works by Rameau, including the brilliant "Hen"; the pieces by Daquin, Lully, and Chambonnières on another single ($2) and Couperin's vocal work, "Third Sermon of Shadows for Holy Wednesday" (two records, $3), I find less interesting.

To come to the nineteenth century: Schumann did his best musical thinking and most effective writing in his works for piano and in his songs; and the special list offers one of his outstanding large-scale works for piano, the Fantasy Opus 17 (four records, $8), one of his collections of imaginative small pieces, the "Kreisleriana" (four records, $8), and the songs "Die Lotosblume" and "Widmung" (one record, $1.50). Bachaus's performance of the Fantasy is very good in the somewhat over-romantic style that is traditional with this and other romantic music; this style is exaggerated in Cortot's playing of "Kreisleriana"; but Janssen's delivery of the songs is flawless, as is his treatment of two of Strauss's best—"Traum durch die Dämmerung" and "Die Nacht" (one record, $1.50). Cortot does a fine job with Mendelssohn's Variations Sérieuses (two records, $4), a work effectively written for the piano but not of great consequence. Of Brahms there are two examples of the chamber-music method—with its over-elaboration of substance and feeling—that irritates me as much as it intoxicates others: the String Quintet Opus 88 (three records, $6.50), beautifully wrought by the Budapest Quartet and Alfred Hobday; the Clarinet Quintet Opus 115 (four records, $8), for which the Busch Quartet's style of performance is perfectly suited, and in which it is ably assisted by Reginald Kell. Dvorak's Quartet Opus 105 (three records, $6.50) is excellently played by the Prague Quartet; the work, however, is not of the stature of the "New World" Symphony, which is superbly done by the Czech Philharmonic under Szell (five records, $7.50).

And to come to our own century: Cortot applies his over-romantically mannered style to music which negates romanticism—the first volume of Debussy's Preludes (six records, $9.50), in most of which I hear mere Debussyan mannerism and formula. One of the best of them, however, "La cathédrale engloutie," Cortot does very well. Another set (four records, $8) offers Prokofiev's brilliant performances of a number of his works for piano—from the innocuous "Suggestion Diabolique" Opus 4 that outraged the outrageous Mr. Krehbiel many years ago, to the arid "Sonatine Pastorale" and "Paysage" Opus 59, by way of the interesting "Visions Fugitives" Opus 22 and the superb Andante Opus 29 that are on the first and fourth records of the set. And on a single record ($1.50) is the heavily nostalgic Adagietto from Mahler's Fifth Symphony played as well as one would expect it to be played by the Vienna Philharmonic under Bruno Walter.

B. H. HAGGIN

[Joseph Wood Krutch's regular article on the drama will appear again next week.]

BOOK

NOW you may order

BOOKS

from THE NATION

At the request of many readers who reside in communities in which no bookshop has been established, *The Nation* now offers to deliver any book to your door at the regular publisher's price (postfree) providing payment is received with the order or publisher's price plus postage if sent C. O. D.

Please address your orders to

The Readers' Service Division

The Nation • *20 Vesey Street* • *New York*

PSYCHOLOGY OF **SEX**

● Price $3. Postpaid. 389 pages
● 5-Day, Money-back Guarantee.
If over 21, order at once
● Emerson Books, Inc. Dept. 751-A
● 251 West 19th St., N. Y. C.

New Edition Now Ready

"The best one-volume treatment of sex in the English language."
—*Carl Van Doren*

by HAVELOCK ELLIS

HIS LATEST BOOK ON THE SEXUAL LIFE

To Subscribe to *The Nation* just fill out and mail this form

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street

New York, N. Y.

For the inclosed $..... please enter my subscription for the period indicated below:

☐ **Ten Weeks ($1)** ☐ **Two Years ($8)**

☐ **One Year ($5)** ☐ **Three Years ($11)**

Name.....

Street.....

City.....

State.....

11-19-38

Extra postage per year: Foreign $1; Canadian 50c

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters to the Editors

Jew and Arab Must Unite

Dear Sirs: Some of Raif Khuri's proposals in *The Nation* of October 29 are unacceptable to progressive Jews and Zionists, but his suggestions do form a basis upon which Jews and Arabs in Palestine could get together and hammer out an agreement. All previous negotiations for a Round Table Conference of Jews and Arabs have broken down because there was no common ground upon which the two groups could meet, discuss, and compromise.

Here is a representative of the Arab youth in Palestine who recognizes that only the unity of Jew and Arab can make possible the expulsion of the British imperialist bureaucracy and the protection of the country from the onslaughts of Chamberlain's ally, Mussolini. Such a program has long been advocated by strong elements among the Zionists, including Dr. Judah L. Magnes and other idealists and intellectuals, the strong left-wing opposition of the Jewish trade unions, and leading industrialists such as Pinhas Rutenberg, who holds the electric-power concession. The industrialists are not enemies of Britain, but business sufferers from Arab-Jewish dissension and boycott. These groups have continually opposed the policy of the Jewish Agency, led by labor's right wing, of putting the friendship of Britain above that of the Arabs.

American public opinion plays an important part in the affairs of Palestine, as was demonstrated by the recent flood of telegrams and statements from Senators, Representatives, and others. Progressive Jews and Americans should strengthen the hands of those elements which are working toward unity with the Arabs on the basis of peace and freedom for both nationalities and against the machinations of Chamberlain and Mussolini. ZEL LURIE

New York, November 9

Honest, at Least

Dear Sirs: Mr. MacIver of Leeds, in his attempt to defend the Chamberlain policy of betraying Czechoslovakia (in your issue of November 5), declares that Americans have no right to criticize his government unless they were ready to go to war to stop Hitler. Has Mr. MacIver forgotten not only that Great Britain is a member of the League of Nations and pledged to collective security but that the present Tory government won its parliamentary majority in 1935 by declaring that it would support the principles of the Covenant?

Our government has at least been honest. Believing that we should not enter the League of Nations, it has made no promises and broken no vows. The British government, on the other hand, has been loud in its protestations of loyalty to the principle of collective action to restrain aggression, but in practice it has consistently betrayed the victims to their aggressors.

PAUL H. DOUGLAS

Chicago, November 4

China's Wounded

Dear Sirs: With reference to the article by Agnes Smedley in *The Nation* of November 5, entitled China's Wounded, I feel it my duty to correct some of the misapprehensions which it may have caused in the minds of your readers. While the general picture of the deplorable conditions is correct, it must be remembered that the army medical authorities and the Chinese Red Cross have to work under the extreme difficulties peculiar to China. They should not bear all the blame for the fact that the wounded have to travel enormous distances before they get to a base hospital or that the going is very rough. As to the sanitary conditions, I can vouch for the marked improvement during recent months.

In the great majority of cases the medical and surgical work in the hospitals is done by the visiting curative units of the Chinese National Red Cross, and it is their usual practice to begin work very early in the morning and to have *finished* by 10 a. m. or earlier. This is done because the air raids usually take place around 10 a. m. and all who can be are evacuated before the first alarm. In recent months, because the air raids have come earlier and more frequently, the practice has been to operate in the afternoons and deal with air-raid victims in the morning.

As to my own procedure in Nanchang, in transferring patients from the military hospitals to the Nanchang General Hospital I encountered no difficulty at all, whatever difficulties others may have had. And here I must say that the authorities of the Nanchang General Hospital gave all possible help.

Another and most important correction I wish to make is with regard to the disposal of funds. The Chinese Red Cross Medical Relief Commission receives any funds or equipment that is sent specifically earmarked for Dr. Lim's organization. Various organizations, such as the American Bureau for Medical Aid to China, Inc., under Dr. Co Tui's leadership, the China Aid Council, the American Friends of the Chinese People, the American League for Peace and Democracy, and some Chinese societies, cooperate with Dr. Lim's organization. I am sure they would wish to assure those people who have helped that everything sent through them gets to its proper destination. The needs are great and becoming more urgent, and it is to be hoped that even more help will be forthcoming. H. TALBOT,

American Bureau for Medical Aid to China, Inc.

New York, November 10

CONTRIBUTORS

HENRY B. KRANZ is a Viennese newspaperman, playwright, and novelist now living in New York.

MAX LERNER is professor of government at Williams College.

R. R. PLANT was formerly film critic for the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. Next spring he will publish a book for children, on peace, "S. O. S. Geneva."

PHILIP BLAIR RICE is an editor of the Kenyon *Review*.

BABETTE DEUTSCH is the author of "This Modern Poetry" and of numerous volumes of poems.

LOUIS B. SALOMON is on the staff of Brooklyn College.

PAUL M. SWEEZY is an instructor in economics at Harvard University.

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

THE NATION, 20 Vesey St., New York, Price, 15 cents a copy. By subscription—Domestic: One year $5; Two years $8; Three years $11. Additional Postage per year: Foreign, $1; Canadian, 50 cents. The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature. Book Review Digest, Dramatic Index, Index to Labor Periodicals, Public Affairs, Information Service. Two weeks' notice and the old address as well as the new are required for change of address.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED